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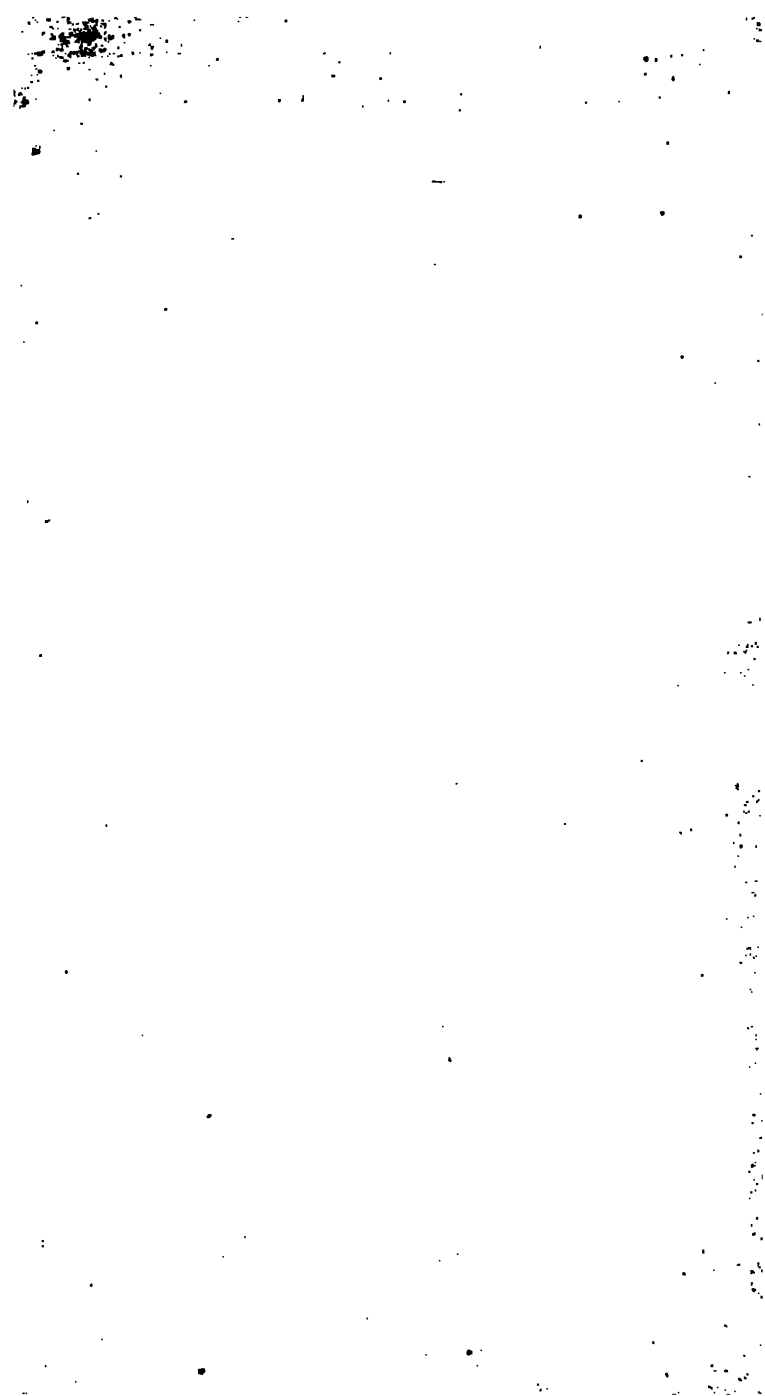
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*Field Marshal*  
**THE DUKE**  
*Commander in Chief of His*  
*Britannic Majesty's Forces*  
**OF YORK**  
*Dedicated by Permission to His Most Gracious Majesty George 4<sup>th</sup>*  
*by his Loyal & most devoted Servant* *William Lams.*



Born Aug<sup>r</sup> 16<sup>th</sup> 1763, Died Jan<sup>y</sup> 6<sup>th</sup> 1827. Aged 64.

THE  
**Last Illness and Decrease**  
OF  
HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS  
**THE DUKE OF YORK:**

BEING A JOURNAL OF  
OCCURRENCES WHICH TOOK PLACE

BETWEEN THE  
9TH OF JUNE, 1826, AND THE 5TH  
OF JANUARY, 1827.

BY  
LIEUT.-GEN. SIR HERBERT TAYLOR, G.C.H.

*THIRD EDITION.*

LONDON:  
WILLIAM SAMS, 1, ST. JAMES'S STREET,  
BOOKSELLER TO HIS LATE ROYAL HIGHNESS,  
*And to the Royal Family.*

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MDCCCXVII.

**LONDON:**  
**PRINTED BY WILLIAM CLOWES,**  
**Stamford-Street.**

HAVING received an authentic Copy of the Memorandum of the latest days and illness of His Royal Highness the DUKE of YORK, and having at the same time been permitted to employ that manuscript according to my own discretion, I feel that I can in no manner more properly avail myself of such an opportunity, than by giving publicity to the incidents which are comprehended in that affecting and authentic narrative.

W. SAMs.



THE  
LAST ILLNESS,  
*&c.*

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THE interest excited by the situation of the late DUKE of YORK, and by every circumstance connected with his long, painful, and lingering illness, from its commencement until the fatal hour which closed his valuable existence, has been so great, and the general feeling which it produced has caused so many particulars to be circulated and received by the public as authentic, for which there either was no foundation, or at least very imperfect foundation, that I have, upon due consideration, been induced to draw up, from minutes taken



during this distressing and trying period of my attendance upon His Royal Highness, a statement, not of the progress of the disease, or of the treatment pursued, but of such circumstances and facts as will show the condition of His Royal Highness's mind under this awful visitation of Providence ; will do justice to the exemplary resolution and pious resignation with which he met and submitted to it, and will satisfy his attached friends that His Royal Highness was, in *every point of view*, deserving of the respect and the affection which have so strongly marked their sentiments towards him, and of the deep grief and regret which his death has occasioned in their minds and in those of the respectable and well-thinking individuals of every class in this country.

The state of His Royal Highness's health had, for some time, appeared far from satisfactory, and had occasioned more or less uneasiness to those about him; but the first indications of serious indisposition, such as to produce alarm, were upon His Royal Highness's return from Ascot to his residence in Audley-square, on the 9th of June, 1826, and Mr. Macgregor, who then saw him, urged him immediately to send for Sir Henry Hallford.

From that period His Royal Highness continued more or less an invalid, and was occasionally confined to his house.

Upon the 24th of June, His Royal Highness removed for change of air to Brompton Park, the residence of Mr. Greenwood, who kindly lent it to him; and upon that day he sent for me, and told me that he

had been unwell for some weeks, and that he did not think that he gained ground. That he did not feel alarmed, and that he had perfect confidence in the attention given to his case, and the skill of his medical advisers: but that he knew that they might entertain apprehensions which they would consider it their professional duty not to communicate to their patients, and he might therefore remain ignorant of that which ought not to be concealed from him, and which he trusted he should learn without apprehension, although he did not deny that he should learn it with regret. That there were duties to be performed, and arrangements to be made, which ought not to be deferred to the last moment; and he felt that it was due to his character and station, to his comfort, and even to his feel-

ings on this subject, that he should not be taken by surprise upon so serious an occasion. He considered it probable that the physicians would be less reserved with me than with him, and he charged me if I should learn from them directly, or should have reason to draw such inference from any expression that might drop from them, that his situation had become one of danger, not to withhold such knowledge from him. He appealed to me upon this occasion for an act of friendship, he would add, for the discharge of a duty, which he claimed from the person who had been with him and enjoyed his confidence during so many years. He called upon me to promise that I would perform it whenever the period should arrive to which he alluded, and he desired that I would bear in mind that he

wished me to deal by him as he was certain I should desire, under similar circumstances, to be dealt with.

I made the promise without hesitation, and it was received with a warm expression of thanks, and an affectionate pressure of the hand.

This was repeated, in allusion to what had passed at a later period of the day, when he got into his carriage to go to Brompton; and he then said that he felt relieved from great uneasiness by the promise I had given him.

§ 14. His Royal Highness removed to Brighton on the 14th of August, for the benefit of further change of air, and I learnt from Mr. Macgregor on the 17th of that month, that a change had taken place in his general state, and that symptoms had appeared

which rendered his situation one of danger.

This distressing information was confirmed to me from other quarters, and I determined immediately to go to Brighton and to discharge my duty, but to be guided in the character and extent of the disclosure by such further communication as might be made to me by His Royal Highness's medical attendants, of the nature and pressure of the danger. I pleaded business rendering personal communication necessary for my visit to His Royal Highness, and I went to Brighton on the 19th of August. Upon my arrival, I learnt from Mr. Macgregor that a favourable change had taken place; that His Royal Highness had gained strength, and that the most alarming symptoms had in

great measure subsided; that His Royal Highness's situation might therefore be considered far more encouraging than when he wrote to me, but that it was impossible to consider it free from danger, although that danger had ceased to be immediate, and although there was reason to hope that the cause of alarm might be removed. He added that, from observations which His Royal Highness had made to himself, he was convinced I would find him prepared for any communication I might feel it my duty to make to him, and that, under all circumstances, I must exercise my discretion.

I then saw the Duke of York, who entered fully into his situation, and told me that, although much better then, and, he believed, going on well, he had reason to

think, from the manner and looks of his medical attendants, that they had been alarmed, and felt much greater uneasiness than they had expressed, or might feel at liberty to express, and he wished to know what I had learnt.

I did not disguise from him that, bearing in mind the engagement I had contracted, I had determined to go to Brighton, in consequence of the accounts I had received on the 17th, which had alarmed me ; but that I was happy to find on my arrival, that His Royal Highness's state had since been improving, and that much of the uneasiness which then prevailed had been removed ; at the same time it was my duty to confirm the impression which he appeared himself to have received, that his complaint had assumed a more serious character, al-



though great confidence appeared to be felt that the extraordinary resources of his constitution, and the strength he had gained since his removal to Brighton, would enable him to struggle successfully with the disorder. "Then," said he, "I was not mistaken in my suspicions, and my case is not wholly free from danger; but I depend upon your honour, and you tell me there is more to hope than to fear."

I assured him that such was decidedly the impression I had received from what Mr. Macgregor had said to me. He thanked me, and proceeded to look over and give directions upon some official papers with his usual attention and accuracy.

He saw Mr. Macgregor the same evening, and questioned him; and he told me on the following day, that Mr. Macgregor

had answered him very fairly, and had confirmed what I had said to him, as did Sir Matthew Tierney later in the day.

On that same day he told me that he felt stronger; that his mind was relieved by what had passed, as he knew he should not be deceived, or left to form his own conjectures and draw his own conclusions from the looks and manner of his medical attendants and others about him; and that he had not for months slept so well as the preceding night.

I repeated to him, that I had come to Brighton under considerable alarm, and that I should leave it very much relieved. His Royal Highness was cheerful; and I heard from Mr. Macgregor, and others, that he continued so during the following days. Indeed, he wrote to me himself in

very good spirits, and assured me of the comfort and relief he had derived from the proof afforded to him that he would be fairly dealt with.

His Royal Highness returned from Brighton on the afternoon of the 26th of August, to the Duke of Rutland's house in Arlington-street, having come in five hours and a half. He did not seem much fatigued ; looked well in the countenance ; and conversed cheerfully with Sir Henry Torrens and me, who were in waiting to receive him.

He afterwards told me that his strength, sleep, and appetite, had improved, but that the medicines he had taken had ceased to have the desired effect in checking the progress of the main disorder ; and that he had, therefore, returned to town earlier

than had been intended, in order, as he understood, to try some change of treatment, which he apprehended might be tapping. This was an unpleasant hearing, though it did not alarm him: he was determined to keep up his spirits; he knew his situation was a serious one, but he had no doubt, please God, he should recover, though he feared his recovery would be a work of time.

In the course of the conversation, I told him that I had understood Sir H. Halford would be in town on the following day, and did not mean to return to the country. He observed it was very kind of him, but immediately added, "By the by, not a very good sign, either."

He then proceeded very quietly to official business; but Mr. Macgregor coming

in, he, in the most calm and collected manner, questioned him, *before me*, very closely as to his state, beginning by these words; "Tell me, honestly, do you consider me in danger?" Not in *immediate* danger, was the answer. "But," said His Royal Highness, "you do consider my situation to be one not free from danger." Mr. Macgregor admitted it to be by no means free from danger, but proceeded to state the grounds which justified his medical attendants in indulging hopes that His Royal Highness might look forward to a favourable issue.

Mr. Macgregor's answer produced further questions, all put with a view to obtain positive and accurate information as to the extent of danger, and he concluded by thanking Mr. Macgregor for the fair

manner in which he had met them, and by saying, "I know now, what I wished to know, and I shall be able to govern myself by that knowledge." During the whole of this conversation, which was of some length, his manner was firm and collected, though very serious; his voice free from agitation; his questions were put quietly at intervals, as if well considered, by a man who was determined to ascertain his own situation; and his words were measured.

He afterwards desired me to repeat what Mr. Macgregor had said, as I understood it, that he might be satisfied he had not mistaken him. I did so, and he observed that he also had so understood him, but that he did not augur from it that his case was hopeless, which impression I confirmed. He expressed an earnest hope

that the symptoms of his disorder were not generally known or talked of.

I have been thus particular in the statement of what passed upon these three occasions, to show how anxious His Royal Highness was not to be kept in the dark, how fearlessly he met the communication of the existence of danger, and, above all, to show that he was early apprized of his critical state, from the contemplation of which he at no time shrunk, although he was at all times anxious to conceal from the generality of those who approached him, that he did not look forward with undiminished confidence to a favourable issue.

On the following day, Sunday 27th August, His Royal Highness again spoke to me very quietly in regard to his situation ; and told me that, although not alarmed,

and although he had heard nothing that should shake his hopes of ultimate recovery, he could not conceal from himself that his situation called for serious contemplation. Whatever might be the result, there would be time for certain arrangements, and the settlement of his affairs, but there was one duty he did not wish to defer ; he felt, indeed, that it ought not to be deferred until it should seem to be imposed by a conviction of immediate danger, and resorted to when hope had ceased to exist. He had, therefore, determined to take the Sacrament upon an early day, and to request his friend the Bishop of London to administer it to him ; but he was anxious that this should not be known, as the alarm would be sounded, and various interpretations would be put upon an



act which was one of duty, resorted to on principle, and not from apprehension or affectation; he therefore directed me to see the Bishop of London, and to request him to come to him on the following Tuesday at twelve. He desired that I would explain to him his desire that the attendance should be quiet, and should not excite observation; that he wished the service to be simply that of the Communion, as he did not *now* apply to him for his attendance as upon a sick person. He also desired me to be present, and to take the Sacrament with him.

He told me that he had well considered of this act. He was sure that, under any circumstances, it would tend to his satisfaction, comfort and relief, and that he ought not to postpone it.

I went to the Bishop of London (at Fulham), who received the communication with great emotion, and spoke in the highest terms of the exemplary feeling which had dictated His Royal Highness's wish, and said that he would come quietly to Arlington Street on Tuesday at twelve, without robes (as upon ordinary occasions) and without notice to any one, and I engaged to have all prepared.

I returned to Arlington Street to inform His Royal Highness; and it was agreed that his servant, Batchelor, should alone be apprised of the intention, and that I should take care to keep others out of the way. His Royal Highness again said that he should derive great comfort from thus early discharging his duty. He also gave me instructions to clear his drawers in

Audley Square of papers, and to bring them away, and seal up those of a private nature. He said he should, by degrees, look them over and attend to other matters, but repeatedly assured me that all this was done and thought of without any apprehension of a fatal issue of his disorder, and that he was confident he should recover.

The Princess Sophia (who usually came every day about two o'clock) had been with him, and I asked him whether she was aware of his situation. He said he believed not, at least he had said nothing to alarm her ; possibly, however, she might be to a certain extent, and he had, therefore, said nothing to undeceive her.

When I saw Batchelor, I learnt from him, (what I had never previously known,) that His Royal Highness, when he did not go

to church, never missed devoting some time to his prayers, which he read to himself, in general early, that he might not be disturbed, but if disturbed in the morning, in the afternoon or evening, and that when travelling on Sunday, he always took a Bible and Prayer-book in the carriage, and was very particular as to their being placed within his immediate reach ; and that although he did not object to a travelling companion on other days, nothing annoyed him more than any one proposing to be his companion on a Sunday.

His Royal Highness saw Sir Henry Halford on that day, and questioned him very closely as to his situation. Sir Henry told me that he had answered his questions fairly, and that he had found His Royal Highness in an excellent state of mind ;

and that he could not sufficiently admire the resolution and composure with which he sought for information, and dwelt upon the question of danger. He observed that there was no difficulty in dealing with such a patient.

His Royal Highness told me afterwards that Sir Henry Halford's communication had confirmed the impression he had received from what Mr. Macgregor had said, and he expressed himself perfectly satisfied with it.

His Royal Highness continued in good spirits, and in the same composed state of mind, on the 28th and 29th.

On the latter day the Bishop of London came at a little before twelve, and His Royal Highness was alone with him for a short time; after which I was called in,

and his Lordship administered the Sacrament to us.

The Duke's deportment was serious, as became the occasion ; but firm, and quite free from agitation. He did not appear nervous or affected, although he must have perceived that neither the Bishop nor I were free from either feeling,

The Bishop of London told me afterwards that nothing could be more correct or satisfactory than all His Royal Highness had said to him when they were alone ; and that his state of mind was that in which he could wish, under such circumstances, to find that of any person in whose welfare he felt interested.

When I returned to the Duke of York, he appeared more affected, and he assured me that he felt that comfort and relief

which he could not describe ; and that, whatever might be the issue of his illness, he had done what he ought to do. That he could now attend to other matters with increased composure.

In the afternoon, when I saw him again, he expressed to me how much he had been pleased with the Bishop of London's mild and encouraging discourse.

That he had stated to his Lordship unreservedly, that he knew his situation to be a very serious, though he trusted not a hopeless, one ; but that he did not choose to postpone a duty which he conceived ought to be performed while he was in the full possession of his faculties, which might yield to disease sooner than he was aware of. That he had in the course of his life faced death in various shapes, and

was now doomed to view its approach in a slow and lingering form. That he did not deny that he should resign his existence with regret, though he felt no alarm. He admitted that his life had not been pure ; that there had been much in his course he wished had been otherwise. He had not thought so seriously on some subjects as he might have done ; still he had endeavoured to discharge his public duties correctly. He had forborne from injuring or deceiving any one, and he felt in peace and charity with all.

Under these circumstances he hoped he might look with confidence to mercy, through the merits of his Redeemer ; and he had appealed to him (the Bishop) on this occasion, not only to receive the confession of his unworthiness, but to admi-



nister that comfort which his situation required. That his reliance and his faith in the Christian religion were firm and decided, and that his adherence to the pure doctrine professed and established in this country, was unshaken as it had ever been. That, as he had declared these sentiments in a political discussion of the question, he was anxious that it should be understood, and that the Bishop of London should be enabled to state hereafter, if the occasion should call for it, that those sentiments were not professed in a political sense, and from prejudice and party-feelings, but that they were firmly fixed in his mind, and were the result of due consideration and conviction, and produced by an earnest solicitude for the continued welfare of his country.

After saying this, His Royal Highness told me that he felt very comfortable, and that, if it should please God to restore him to health, he was sure he should be a better man ever after. He considered this trial as a mercy, for which he ought to feel grateful ; it afforded him time for serious reflection, and he trusted that the time would not be ill applied. He then entered into some questions of military business with great composure.

His Royal Highness underwent the operation of tapping on the afternoon of the 3rd September. It was performed by *Sept* Mr. Macgregor, and it was borne by His Royal Highness with the same resolution and quiet composure which had marked his conduct under every stage of his illness. Colonel Stephenson and I saw him

soon after. We found him a little exhausted, but cheerful, and quite free from nervous agitation.

About this period he received the communication of the death of Sir Harry Calvert, by which he was much affected, and he observed that he had deeply to deplore the loss of an old and attached friend, and a religious and good man.

For some days after the operation, he was very weak, and his left leg was in a state which occasioned serious uneasiness, nor was the appearance of the other leg satisfactory. On the 10th he examined the contents of some private boxes, and desired that they might be left in his room, but considered as consigned to my charge. His situation gave his medical attendants serious uneasiness; and His Royal High-

ness was perfectly sensible of it, nor indeed did I disguise it from him, when he questioned me.

Between the 12th and the 18th, His Royal Highness gained strength, and his appetite and sleep improved, but the state of his legs continued unsatisfactory. On the 19th he began again to take his airings, but the improvement had not been such as to induce his medical attendants to consider his state otherwise than very critical. He continued to take daily airings until the 16th October. During this interval, he rallied occasionally, and his general health appeared at times to be improving, notwithstanding the state of the legs, which became gradually more unsatisfactory, and often occasioned excruciating pain throughout great part of the day.

His Royal Highness frequently spoke to me of his own situation and feelings, more especially on the 22nd September, when he told me he did his best to submit with patience and resignation ; that he tried to keep up his spirits ; he met his friends cheerfully, endeavoured to go correctly through what he had to do, and to occupy himself at other times with reading : but when left to his own thoughts, when he went to bed and lay awake, the situation was not agreeable : the contemplation of one's end, not to be met at once, nor within a short given period, but protracted possibly for months, required a struggle, and tried one's resolution. But after all, he did not know that he regretted it, or that he regretted that time was given to him which had turned his mind to serious re-

flection, and which he was certain had been very beneficial to him. If it should please God that he should recover, he would become a better man; if he did not recover, he would have to thank God for the time afforded for reflection.

I have noticed what passed on this day, to show that his feelings had undergone no change.

On the 16th October, Mr. Macgregor desired that I would convey to His Royal Highness his wish that he would allow him to call in Sir Astley Cooper; that I would state that he had no reason to doubt His Royal Highness's confidence, but that a heavy responsibility was thrown upon him, and that it might be satisfactory to His Royal Highness, it doubtless would be to himself, to resort to further aid and advice,

*Oct. 16*

as the state of the legs had, unfortunately, formed so prominent a feature of the case : at the same time, he was persuaded that Sir Astley Cooper would concur in all that he had done. When I mentioned it to His Royal Highness, he objected, and assured me that he was perfectly satisfied with Mr. Macgregor's skill, and his attention ; and that he would not, upon any account, appear to show a doubt which he had never felt, nor hurt Mr. Macgregor's feelings. I assured him that Mr. Macgregor was perfectly sensible of this, but that he owed it to his own feelings, and to his character as a professional man, to make this request. His Royal Highness then objected to the effect it might produce upon the public, to its getting into the newspapers, &c. I observed that

measures might be taken to prevent this, and he finally agreed to Mr. Macgregor speaking to Sir Henry Halford, and settling it with him.

Sir Astley Cooper attended, accordingly, on the 17th, and continued to do so during the remainder of His Royal Highness's illness. Notwithstanding every precaution, it was impossible to prevent it being soon noticed in the papers; and when His Royal Highness learnt this, he observed, that his chief motive for wishing it concealed, was the apprehension that it might excite unnecessary alarm, which, as connected with his station and situation, might embarrass the government, and possibly influence the public funds. It could not affect him personally.

His Royal Highness's state fluctuated



again between this period and the 6th of November, when there was a marked improvement in the condition of the legs, which continued until the 20th, when they again assumed an unfavourable appearance ; which was the more to be lamented, as His Royal Highness's strength and constitutional powers had been giving way, his appetite and sleep began to fail, and the increasing evil was therefore to be met by impaired resources.

*eD* Towards the beginning of December, His Royal Highness again rallied, so far as the legs were concerned, but his frame and his constitution had evidently become weaker ; and His Royal Highness himself expressed his apprehensions that his strength would not carry him through the protracted struggle.

Between the 8th and 17th of December there was again a sensible improvement in the legs, which might have raised the hopes of His Royal Highness's attendants, if the return of strength had kept pace with it; but he was visibly losing strength and substance, and on the 20th the legs resumed the appearance of mortification to an alarming extent, and the medical attendants agreed that his situation had become very critical.

Their apprehensions were still further excited on the 22nd. His appetite had totally failed him, and other symptoms were equally unfavourable. Still he kept up his spirits; and although my language was anything but encouraging, he *appeared* to feel sanguine of recovery. This impression was not justified by the opinion of the

medical attendants, and I became very anxious that His Royal Highness should be made aware of the increased danger of his situation. I urged this point with Sir Henry Halford and Sir Astley Cooper ; assured them that they mistook His Royal Highness's character, if they apprehended any ill effect from the disclosure ; and represented that it was due to his character, and to his wish to discharge the duties which he still had to perform. In the course of the day they yielded to my representations, and authorized me to avail myself of any opening which His Royal Highness might give me, to make him sensible of the increased anxiety and alarm which I had observed in his physicians. I was to use my discretion as to the mode, the nature, and the extent of the discolo-

sure ; it would probably produce reference to them, and they would then confirm the impression conveyed by me.

I saw His Royal Highness at five o'clock, when I took my official papers to him. He gave me the desired opportunity at once, by asking what the doctors said of him. His servant being in the room, I gave no immediate answer, and he waited quietly until he had left the room, and then repeated the question.

I spoke to him, as had been agreed with Sir Henry Halford, adding, that my own anxiety, and the uneasiness I had already expressed to him, had led me to watch the physicians, and to endeavour to extract from them what their real opinion was ; but that they were cautious, and were evidently unwilling to authorize me to *express*

their alarm. I could not, however, forget His Royal Highness's appeal to me in Audley-square, nor the pledge I had given him ; that I knew His Royal Highness did not wish to be taken by surprise ; that I felt he ought not to be taken by surprise ; and therefore I had considered it my duty to disclose to him the uneasiness I felt. He listened with composure, and without betraying any agitation ; but asked me, whether the danger was immediate—whether it was a question of *days*.

I repeated that I was not authorized to say so, and I trusted it was not. He said, “ God's will be done ! I am not afraid of dying ; I trust I have done my duty ; I have endeavoured to do so. I know that my faults have been many, but God is merciful ; His ways are inscrutable ; I bow

with submission to His will. I have at least not to reproach myself with not having done all I could to avert this crisis. But I own it has come upon me by surprise. I knew that my case had not ceased to be free from danger ; I have always been told so, but I did not suspect *immediate* danger ; and had I been a timid or a nervous man the effect might have been trying. I trust I have received this communication with becoming resolution." I observed, that I had not for many days seen His Royal Highness more free from nervous agitation ; and that I had not been disappointed in my expectation that he would bear this communication as he did that which I had been called upon to make to him at Brighton. He desired me to feel his pulse, which was low, but even and steady.

He then put various questions to me; with a view to ascertain the causes of what he considered so sudden a change in his state. I accounted for it by what I had learnt from the physicians, and ended by repeating that I had felt it my duty, however painful, to speak out. He thanked me, gave me his hand, and said I had acted as I ought, and as he expected; but he pressed me again to state "what was the extent of the danger, and whether *immediate*." I repeated, that I had been assured it was not immediate. "Whether his case was without hope of recovery?"— I gave no decided answer, but said that I could not extract from the physicians any positive opinion; but that their language was not encouraging. He said, "I understand you: I may go on for a short time,

but I may end rapidly. God's will be done; I am resigned!" He then called for his official papers, and transacted his business with composure and his usual attention. He afterwards resumed the previous painful subject. I spoke to him about his private papers; and he confirmed some of the directions previously given to me upon that subject. He then spoke most kindly; took me again by the hand, and said, "Thank you; God bless you!" I had hitherto succeeded in controlling my feelings; but I could do so no longer, and I left the room.

I learnt from his servant, Batchelor, that after I left His Royal Highness, he had desired him to collect and pay some small bills; that he began to write some memoranda, and appeared very serious, but quite free



from agitation. His Royal Highness afterwards had some serious conversation with Sir Henry Halford, who did not disguise from him the uneasiness he felt, but did not admit that his case had become hopeless. He had found him perfectly calm and composed.

His Royal Highness sent for me again, and repeated to me very correctly what Sir H. Halford had said to him. He afterwards saw Colonel Stephenson, who told me that he had conversed with him very quietly upon indifferent subjects, and that, from his manner, he could not have suspected that any thing could have occurred to disturb him.

He passed a good night, and appeared better on the following day. He saw the Adjutant-General and Quarter-Master-

General early, and gave his directions to them with his usual accuracy. I saw him soon after, and he told me that he had passed a good night, had rather more appetite, and was more free from pain ; that this was satisfactory for the moment, but whether of any ultimate avail a higher Power would decide.

The physicians told me there was no improvement in his situation.

In the course of the day I submitted to him the official papers, and took his pleasure upon some general military arrangements, into which he entered with interest ; but in the afternoon he became very languid and nervous, though he rallied again towards the evening.

On the following day, 24th December, he appeared better and in good spirits, though incapable of much exertion.

On the 25th he was weaker, having had a very indifferent night. He saw the Duke of Wellington early in the day. The physicians told me that His Royal Highness's state was becoming daily more critical, and that it was desirable that I should avail myself of any opportunity which might offer of drawing His Royal Highness's attention to the necessity of settling his affairs. I embraced it that very day, and proposed to him to send for his solicitor, Mr. Parkinson, to which he agreed, and I appointed him at ten o'clock on the following day. He afterwards went through his official business very quietly.

His Royal Highness saw Mr. Parkinson on the 26th, and signed his will, after which he shook hands with him, as if taking final leave of him. He afterwards saw the Bishop of London, who had, at all times,

free admission to His Royal Highness, and had had frequent conversations with him in the course of his illness ; and the result of *this* interview was, that His Royal Highness should take the sacrament, on the 28th, which His Royal Highness mentioned to me afterwards, adding that he meant to ask the Princess Sophia to take it with him. I saw him again in the evening, and he appeared very cheerful. On the 27th he appeared better early in the day, but became more weak and languid afterwards. He saw Mr. Peel, who told me he had been much shocked by His Royal Highness's altered appearance. The Duke, however, spoke to me of himself in a more sanguine tone than usual. His Majesty came to His Royal Highness in the afternoon, and found him very

weak and languid, but he rallied in the evening, and looked over his official papers.

On the morning of the 28th, His Royal Highness appeared very weak, and had some attacks of nervous faintness ; which, together with other unfavourable symptoms, satisfied the physicians that the danger was becoming more imminent. The Bishop of London came at twelve, and desired that three persons should assist at the holy ceremony ; and proposed that Sir Henry Halford and I should be added to the Princess Sophia, which was mentioned to His Royal Highness, who readily agreed. Upon this occasion he came publicly, and put on his robes. His Royal Highness was quite composed ; and nothing could exceed his pious attention and calm devo-

tion throughout the solemn ceremony. He repeated the prayers, and made the responses, in a firm voice. Part of the prayers for the sick were read; but the service was, at the suggestion of Sir H. Halford, the short service. The Bishop was very much affected, particularly when pronouncing the concluding blessing. The Princess Sophia supported herself wonderfully throughout the trying scene; and the Duke was quite free from agitation. After the service was over, he kissed his sister, and shook hands most affectionately with the Bishop, Sir H. Halford, and me, thanking us, and as if taking leave of all. His Royal Highness sent for me again in the afternoon, and went through some official business, to which he appeared quite equal. He expressed great satisfac-

tion at having taken the Sacrament ; and told me that the Princess Sophia had staid with him, and borne up to the last moment. He then asked me whether his physicians thought much worse of him ; he really felt better. I replied they considered his situation as having become more doubtful than it had been ; but that they had not, at any time, authorized me to say his case was hopeless. He observed, that he thought it was wrong to abandon hope, or to despair ; but, setting aside that feeling, he was resigned to God's will. He asked whether I had any more papers requiring consideration, as he felt quite as equal to business as he had been for two or three months past ; and he wished none to be interrupted or suspended.

He afterwards saw Mr. Greville, who found him very cheerful.

He sent for me again between eight and nine, and I staid with him until ten. He appeared weak and uncomfortable, though not positively in pain. At ten, he said he should like to go to bed, but the usual hour had not arrived, and he would wait for Sir H. Halford. I persuaded him to go to bed at once. This was the first night that he had anticipated the usual hour ; and the medical attendants ascribed it to increasing weakness, against which he had hitherto contended:—all agreed that he might linger on a few days, unless an attack of nervous faintness should carry him off suddenly.

On the following day, the 29th, His Royal Highness, after passing a tolerable night, appeared better. He had taken some nourishment, and his pulse was steady.



He sent for me soon after ten, and spoke very seriously of his situation, but without alarm or agitation. He appeared very desirous of extracting very direct and unreserved answers; often fixed his eyes upon me, as if to search my thoughts, and made me change my position that he might see me better. I appeared not to notice this, but kept up the conversation, for an hour and a half, on various subjects of business, &c. This succeeded, and he gradually became more at his ease. He was quite equal to any exertion of mind. When Sir H. Halford came, he announced to His Royal Highness the King's intention to pay him a visit on that day, and His Royal Highness dressed and shaved himself, which he had not been able to do on the preceding day.

The physicians told me that the state of the legs had become more unfavourable. His Royal Highness saw the Adjutant-General, and Quarter-Master-General, and transacted business with them, as usual.

His Majesty came at two, and staid an hour with His Royal Highness. His Majesty thought him looking better and stronger than on the 27th; but this was the last time he saw him, His Majesty's own indisposition having disappointed his anxious wish to have come again to him.

His Royal Highness sent for me at five, and went through his usual official business with me, after which he appeared tired and exhausted, and, indeed, he had previously retired to his bed-room.

He afterwards saw Colonel Stephenson,

who found him in the same weak and exhausted state.

Towards nine he sent for me again, and I found him much oppressed, and breathing short, and, in general, unable to rouse himself. He dismissed me after a short time, wishing me good night, but between ten and eleven, he sent for me again ; I found him dosing, and when he roused himself, he complained of inward pain, asked me how late I should stay in the house, (he was not aware that I had slept in it for several nights,) and again wished me good night.

He had called for Sir H. Halford, Mr. Macgregor, and Mr. Simpson, repeatedly, in the same manner, and after wishing them good night. Some time after, he again sent for Mr. Macgregor, who found

him in one of his attacks of nervous faintness. Mr. Macgregor gave him some laudanum, and after some time he became more composed, and fell asleep.

I learnt early in the morning of the 30th, from Mr. Macgregor, that His Royal Highness had had some sleep at intervals ; but that he appeared much weaker, and that there were other indications of increasing danger.—His Royal Highness had determined not to quit his bed-room.

He sent for me at half-past ten, and I remained with him for more than an hour, until Sir H. Halford came.—I was extremely shocked at the extraordinary change which had taken place in one night, or rather since the preceding morning, at the same hour. He appeared extremely feeble, and under great uneasiness from

pain, but otherwise composed; and although suffering so much, he uttered no complaint. He asked me when I had come, and I told him I had slept in the house. He did not seem surprised or displeased, but said, he concluded he was considered much worse, for Mr. Macgregor had been three times to see him in the night; but that he felt quite equal to business. I therefore brought forward a few subjects, and received his very clear instructions, though his voice had become so feeble that I could with difficulty hear him.

His Royal Highness saw the Dukes of Clarence and Sussex, and Sir William Knighton, who was going to Windsor, and through whom he sent an affectionate message to the King. To the Dukes of

Clarence and Sussex he spoke cheerfully on the state of Portugal and other matters of public interest. The Princess Sophia was also with him for a considerable time.

Between nine and ten, he expressed a wish to see Colonel Stephenson and me, and we went to him, but he said little, and wished us good night.

He passed a restless night, and appeared much weaker on the following morning (the 31st December), but continued perfectly sensible; took nourishment when offered to him, but showed no inclination to speak unless spoken to. His medical attendants apprehended, from the increased weakness, the rapid approach of dissolution. I went to him by desire of the physicians, between one and two. He took my hand, and received me most kindly. He said, "Here I am—I feel weaker, but

not worse, and I do not suffer pain." He moved his lips occasionally, but I could not distinguish what he said. He appeared quite sensible, very composed, and twice looked at me, the first time seriously, the second time with a placid, almost a cheerful smile, and I came away perfectly satisfied that his mind was free from anxiety and uneasiness. The Princess Sophia came in, and the manner in which he roused himself when she was announced was very striking. Her Royal Highness staid with him about twenty minutes. He continued very quiet throughout the rest of the day; and at half-past seven, desired Sir Astley Cooper, who was going to Windsor, to give his affectionate duty to the King, and to tell him he was very comfortable.

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On the 1st of January, I learned that His

Royal Highness had passed a very quiet night, with four hours' good sleep, and that no material change had taken place in his state. That he continued perfectly sensible, took sufficient nourishment, and spoke whenever roused, nor were the legs in a worse state ; on the contrary, their appearance had become more favourable.

Upon the whole, the physicians thought he might linger on longer than they had expected, such was the extraordinary resistance which his constitution opposed to the progress of the disease. The Dukes of Clarence and Sussex again saw him, and he received them affectionately, but did not speak, and they left him immediately. The Princess Sophia then went to him ; he kissed her, and said, " God bless you, my dear love—to-morrow, to-morrow," and she



left him. He continued in the same quiet and composed state throughout the day, and occasionally told his medical attendants that he felt no pain, and was very comfortable. I did not see him.

The report on the following morning, (the 2d January), was, that the night had been quiet, and that he continued free from pain, and perfectly sensible, though he seldom spoke. Soon after nine, he had a shivering attack which was very alarming, and his pulse was hardly perceptible, but he rallied. He had been moved nearer to the window, was quite himself, and asked whether the day was not a frost,—which was the case. He became slightly delirious at twenty minutes past one, and other symptoms had become more alarming. Still he was quite sensible at intervals. The Prin-

cess Sophia was with him for a short time, and he knew her.

The Dukes of Clarence and Sussex, who came in the afternoon, did not see him. His Royal Highness continued nearly in the same state, except that his pulse had been gradually lowering, and his breathing becoming very short ; and his situation appeared so critical, that I and other attendants in the house, determined not to take off our clothes. The street was crowded with people throughout the day, not apparently assembled from curiosity, but from anxiety ; extremely quiet and hardly speaking, except to inquire, in a subdued voice, what was the state of His Royal Highness.

I learnt at six in the following morning (the 3rd) from Mr. Macgregor, that, notwithstanding a restless and uncomfortable

night, His Royal Highness had rallied, and appeared then stronger, more inclined to talk, and to take nourishment, than he had been on the preceding day, and that it was impossible to calculate when the crisis would arrive. His pulse also had become more steady. The other medical attendants confirmed this at a later hour; and observed, that His Royal Highness's extraordinary powers of constitution and tenacity of life defied all calculation. The Princess Sophia, being unwell, could not come this day: the Dukes of Clarence and Sussex came at twelve and staid until six, but did not see their brother.

Sir William Knighton having come from Windsor, and been named to His Royal Highness, he desired to see him, that he might inquire after the King, and re-

quested him to assure His Majesty of his affectionate duty.

Towards the evening, His Royal Highness showed symptoms of returning strength, and the physicians reported to His Majesty that he continued in the same state, without appearance of immediate dissolution, but without hope. Between eleven and twelve he was very quiet, and inclined to sleep.

The assemblage of people in Arlington-street was the same as on the preceding day; there was the same propriety of conduct, the same manifestation of affectionate interest, free from curiosity.

His Royal Highness passed a very restless night, with occasional attacks of faintness and spasm. His breathing had become more difficult; his pulse more feeble and irregular; but yet there were no symptoms

of rapidly-approaching dissolution. Sir Astley Cooper had sat up with him to relieve Mr. Macgregor, and when the latter went to His Royal Highness, he desired him to thank him, and say he was very kind.

Shortly after he saw some one near him, and Mr. Macgregor told him it was Mr. Simpson, and His Royal Highness said Mr. Simpson is a good man. He took some slight nourishment occasionally, and towards ten o'clock he had a serious attack of faintness, during which his pulse was hardly perceptible; but he rallied again. Sir William Knighton saw His Royal Highness, but he did not speak to him.

Between one and two, Mr. Macgregor came to tell me that His Royal Highness

had named me frequently, and at last made them understand that he wished to see me. I immediately went to him. I found him dreadfully changed, very feeble, very much oppressed, and evidently unable to distinguish objects clearly. Batchelor named me to him, and I sat down close by his right side. He looked at me with a kind smile, took me by the hand, and I told him I had not left the house since I had last seen him. He asked me with difficulty, and in a faint though steady voice, whether Colonel Stephenson was in the house. I said he was, and asked whether he wished to see him; he nodded assent, and I immediately sent for him. Colonel Stephenson went to his left side; but as His Royal Highness could not see him, I beckoned to him to come to the right side, and I

moved back so as to enable him to come close up, while I supported His Royal Highness, by placing my hand against the pillow behind his back. He then gave his hand to Colonel Stephenson. After some interval, during which His Royal Highness breathed with great difficulty and was very faint, and during which Bachelor bathed his temples with Cologne water, he collected his strength, and said, in a steady, firm tone of voice, but so low as to be hardly audible, to Colonel Stephenson, whose head was further removed than mine, "I am now dying." After this he dropped his head, and his lips moved for about a minute, as if in prayer. He then looked at us again, and appeared to wish to speak; but an attack of faintness came on, and his respiration was so difficult,

and he seemed so weak and exhausted, that I thought he was dying, and expressed that apprehension to Colonel Stephenson, who partook of it. Batchelor bathed his temples again, and he rallied; after which, he again took Colonel Stephenson's hand, and nodded to Batchelor, who told us he meant we should leave him.

The scene was most affecting and trying, but yet in some respects satisfactory, as it showed that he was perfectly aware of his situation, and we concluded that he had seen us together, as being his executors, and meant to take leave of us. I heard afterwards, that he had appeared much exhausted by the effort, but subsequently took some chicken broth, and became composed, without having any return



of faintness. Towards the evening he rallied again, and had some sound and comfortable sleep; and his attendants separated under the impression that His Royal Highness's life would be prolonged at least another night.

In the course of the night he had so serious an attack of faintness, that Mr. Macgregor thought he would not have recovered from it; but he rallied again towards the morning of the 5th, and had taken some nourishment. The breathing had, however, become extremely difficult. About 11, Mr. Simpson came to me to say, that the symptoms of approaching death had come on, and that the medical attendants wished me to be in the room adjoining to that in which His Royal Highness lay. I brought in the Dukes of Clarence and

Sussex, and Colonel Stephenson; and we continued in the room expecting every moment to be called in by the medical attendants (who were all with His Royal Highness) to witness his death.

Sir H. Halford came to us occasionally, and stated that His Royal Highness's pulse was hardly perceptible; his extremities were cold, he was speechless, and had with difficulty swallowed a little milk and rum; but nevertheless appeared to retain his senses. Of this, indeed, he gave proof at twelve, for Mr. Macgregor came in to say, that His Royal Highness had insisted on having his legs dressed (which they naturally wished to avoid at such a period), for he had looked at him several times, had pointed at the clock, then at his legs, and had pushed off the covering; thus

showing his determination to go through all that was required, to the last moment. When he found that he was understood, and that Mr. Macgregor was preparing for the dressing, he signified his thanks to him with a kind smile, threw back his head, and hardly noticed anything afterwards.

927 The pulse became more feeble, the attacks of faintness more frequent ; but His Royal Highness struggled on, and between eight and nine, this state appeared so likely to last for some hours, that the Duke of Clarence was persuaded to go home, and I returned to my room to answer some enquiries. At twenty minutes past nine, Colonel Stephenson called me out, and told me that he was in the last agonies. I hastened down ; but my dear master had expired before I could reach his room, and I had the comfort of learning that he had

expired without any struggle or apparent pain. His countenance, indeed, confirmed this : it was as calm as possible, and quite free from any distortion ; indeed, it almost looked as if he had died with a smile upon it.

The medical attendants, the Duke of Sussex, Batchelor, and another servant, were in the room, looking at him in silence and with countenances strongly expressive of their feelings.

Such was the end of this amiable, kind, and excellent man, after a long and painful struggle, borne with exemplary resolution and resignation ; and I am confident that the details into which I have entered, of the last circumstances of that struggle, will not prove uninteresting to those who were sincerely attached to him.

I FEEL that I owe it to His Royal Highness's character, to add some general observations which may serve to place it in its true light, and to confirm the opinion of those who view his loss as a national calamity.

It may be necessary to premise that, from the moment that I had received the alarming report from Brighton, I ceased to entertain any sanguine hopes of His Royal Highness's recovery, and that my expectations of it became gradually more faint, although they varied occasionally, as the symptoms of the disorder fluctuated. This impression led to my keeping the minutes from which I have extracted the foregoing statement. My object in so doing being, that I might be better able, from

such accurate source, to do justice to His Royal Highness's character and sentiments.

The 30th December was the last day on which I submitted any papers, and he was then quite equal to any business ; for although his state varied in the course of the day, yet there were hours when physical causes, or the effect of medicine, did not interfere with the clear application of the powers of the mind.

It has been already shown by the details I have produced, that almost to the latest hour, His Royal Highness was anxious to discharge his official duties ; and the interest he took in them was at no time weakened by the pressure of bodily disease or pain. In further proof of this, I may state, that on Saturday the 9th December, I re-

ceived from Lord Bathurst, at his office, secret instructions respecting the force to be prepared for embarkation for Portugal, and that I communicated them on the same evening to His Royal Highness. He was then in great pain, but he became indifferent to bodily suffering, and immediately drew up the heads of the military arrangement (which paper, in his own writing, I now possess); from which were framed the detailed instructions approved by him, on the following day, and issued on Monday the 11th December.

This measure naturally produced the necessity of other arrangements connected with home service, and the Adjutant-General and Quarter-Master-General will bear me out in the assertion, that these were entered into and directed by him with

the same intelligence and attention which he had manifested on previous occasions ; when, we are bound to state, that every arrangement was made by him, and that the execution of the detail, was alone left to us.

It may not be irrelevant here to observe, that this had *at all times* been the case. His Royal Highness had been at the head of the army more than thirty-two years ; during that period various officers were successfully employed by him in the situations of Military Secretary, and at the heads of departments at the Horse Guards, and they possessed his confidence, and exerted themselves zealously. But the merit of rescuing the army from its impaired condition, of improving, establishing, and maintaining its system ; of



introducing that administration of it in principle and in every detail, which has raised the character of the British service, and promoted its efficiency, belongs exclusively to His late Royal Highness. The work was progressive, but his attention to it, his able superintendence of it, were constant. He guided and directed the labours of those subordinate to him : their task was executive. He gave the impulse to the whole machinery, and kept the wheels in motion, and to him, I repeat it, the credit was due.

An arrangement for the promotion of the old subalterns of the army had long been the object of his solicitude ; but it was one of difficult accomplishment, as it was understood that no measure entailing extraordinary charge on the public would be

admitted. Hence the delay in bringing it forward; but His Royal Highness entered into every detail of it on the 26th of December, and the King having paid him a visit on the 27th, he ordered me to submit it to His Majesty on that day, when it obtained the royal signature; and the communication of His Majesty's gracious approbation of this arrangement was received by His Royal Highness with a warm expression of satisfaction. E

Of the resolution and resignation with which His Royal Highness submitted to protracted confinement, and a painful disorder, my statement offers ample proof; but I have not stated, that during all this period—during this serious trial, his excellent temper, and kind disposition, to all who approached him, continued unim- G

paired. I appeal to his medical attendants—I appeal to his servants—to those who transacted business with him, official or personal, whether, at any time, he betrayed a symptom of irritability ;—whether a sharp word escaped him,—whether a murmur or complaint was uttered. Every attention, from whatever quarter, was kindly received and gratefully acknowledged ; great anxiety was shown by him to avoid giving trouble ; and, at the later periods of his illness, that which seemed to distress him most was his being reduced to the necessity of requesting others to do for him that which he had ceased to be able to do for himself.

Of the kind attention of his medical attendants, and their anxiety to afford to him the utmost benefit of their skill, he ex-

pressed himself most sensible ; and it is due to them to say, that if he had been their nearest and dearest relative, they could not have devoted their time, care, and attention to him, with more affectionate zeal than they did. Nor did he ever betray any want of confidence in their skill, or the least desire to resort to other advice.

I must add, that I can positively state, having been admitted freely to their consultations, that no difference of opinion prevailed among them ; they acted together cordially, and their only object seemed to be the welfare of their illustrious patient.

During the progress of his illness, His Royal Highness received the most endearing and affectionate attention from the King, and from his brothers and sis-

ters ; and they never failed to be acknowledged with satisfaction and with gratitude. The Princess Sophia especially, whose near residence admitted of more frequent intercourse, never missed coming to him in the course of the day, unless prevented by indisposition ; and I have already stated, that Her Royal Highness, by his desire, took the Sacrament with him on the 28th December.

The visits of His Royal Highness's numerous and attached friends were frequent, and they were invariably received with satisfaction, and with an expression of his sense of their attention. Upon these occasions, he exerted himself to meet them cheerfully, and to suppress the expression of pain or bodily uneasiness ; and they often left him with the belief that he was

free from both, although this had by no means been the case.

Nor did His Royal Highness's bodily suffering, or the contemplation of his critical state, diminish in any degree the interest which he had taken in the state of public affairs, and in the welfare and prosperity of his country. These were at all times uppermost in his mind, and I am convinced that they engaged it in a much greater degree, than did his own situation.

H. TAYLOR.

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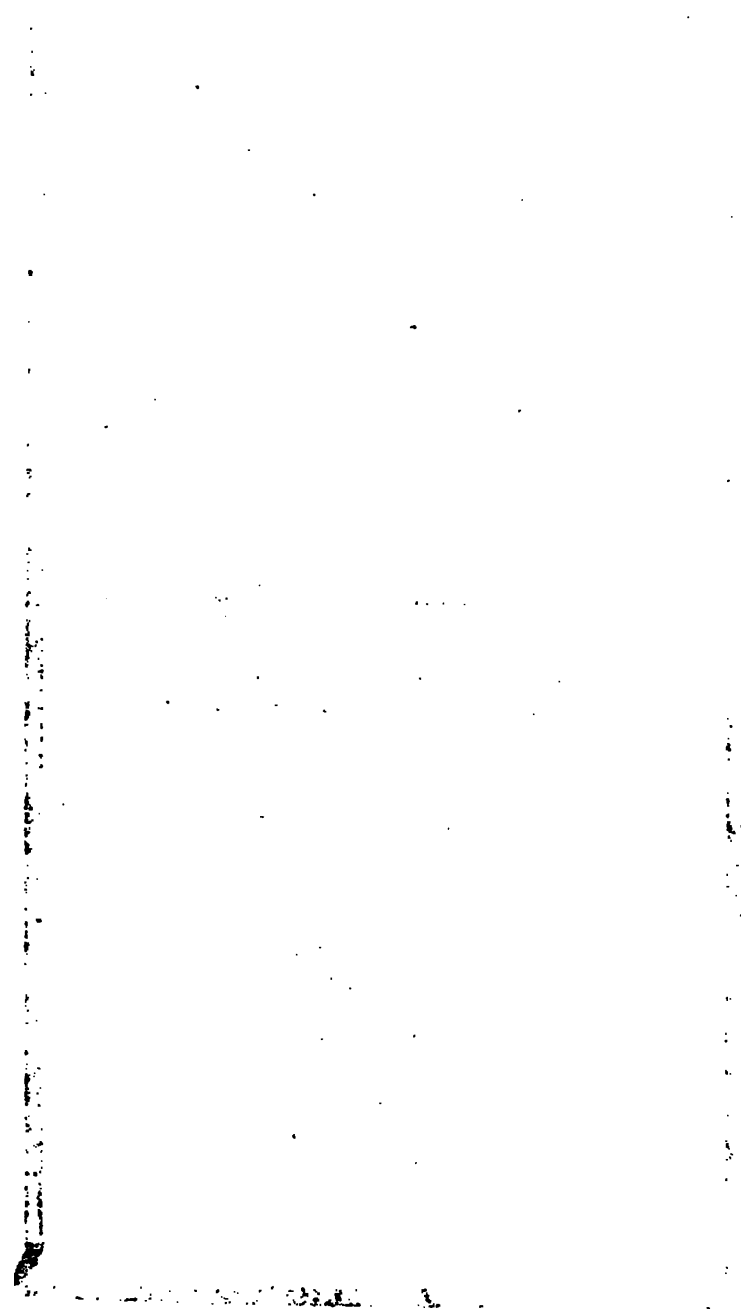
THE  
**POSTHUMOUS LETTER**  
OF  
HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS  
**The Duke of York.**

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HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS  
**THE DUKE OF YORK.**

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RUTLAND-HOUSE, ARLINGTON-STREET,  
*1st September, 1826.*

**BELoved FELLOW-COUNTRYMEN!**

The painful disease which afflicts me, and the remedy which must *now* unavoidably be applied to its temporary alleviation, warn me of the numbering of my days; of the frail thread of my existence; and that, in all human probability, I shall not succeed to a Crown which I never coveted; and which, how much soever it dignifies our admirable Sovereign and my most beloved brother, is no less graced by his possession.

May the blessings of "Almighty God!" of "The King of Kings!" continue to accompany his days! May these be yet long in the land which has now done justice to his capacious soul, and to the many excellencies of his noble nature!—And may an increasing and uninterrupted harmony subsist between the King and his people! so that the many trials, with which the greatness of our country must unavoidably be attended, may lead only to an accession and consolidation of power.

These are the prayers of my heart ; of a Prince who feels himself within the grasp of death.

Had it been otherwise—I could have unaffectedly resigned the fascination of a diadem to a younger Prince, if the motives for such relinquishment might have been accepted, and not misconceived by my country—for the Crown of England, however arduous and eventful may be the performance of its many constitutional functions, and restricted and defined its prerogatives, yields to no earthly sceptre in brilliancy of honour.

Under the influence of these solemn impressions, and with the conviction that—my life is fast ebbing—I feel a most earnest and invincible desire, to address to my “beloved fellow-countrymen” a few observations relative to the principles which have actuated my conduct, either officially, or as a Peer of the realm.

Of England the Princes, in these latter days, are too narrowed in their means, compared with a richer nobility, to leave behind them any memorials either of their personal taste or munificence. From a feeling of constitutional jealousy, “the country does every thing.”

Let, then, the following observations, springing at least from an honest heart, be considered as the only legacy which the Duke of York has in his power to bequeath to his country!

Far is it from my intention, to enter upon any review of the military career of my earlier days! those operations were conducted jointly with our continental allies, and are subjects fitter for the pen of the historian.—

The result of my experience tended, however, to convince me, that much was deficient in the military economy of the British army; and that the success of a campaign depended not more on the courage of troops, and the conduct of battle, than in the interior order and precise regulations of regimental routine, and the efficiency of materiel.

If it should be expected of me, that I refer to the charges and accusation of Mr. Wardle—I may be permitted to say, that it was completely in my power to have suppressed the whole of that most unfair proceeding. I might have been disposed thus to have acted, had I believed that any woman could have been so base, as to have treasured up a private correspondence, written in the moment of an infatuated and infatuating connection; as the future means of threat and annoyance to one, whose fault as towards such female was, a careless and most unguarded confidence. The charges against me sprung out of the consequences of an unsuspecting and too artless a disposition; nor had I the least consciousness of the extent of surmise with which a cold-hearted and intriguing woman had surrounded me. I could not believe, and did not imagine, that in a character which appeared all frankness, and seemed never more pleased than in endeavouring to oblige, and render services; evidences of good temper and kind disposition were but the cloaks of a cold and calculating and venal mind, of which I became the dupe.—Men of much stronger and more resolute tempers might have been caught by a less skilful tempter, and consummate hypocrite.

It cannot, however, be said of me, that the instances



in which my patronage was thus grossly misapplied or abused, were many—they were, indeed, too few to create suspicion in my mind, that I was giving way loosely to the requests of a fascinatingly-mannered woman; nor were they more than men placed in situations of influence might reasonably be permitted to grant to the claims of friendship, to those connected with them by habits of confidential intercourse, or social unreserve. That such principles are not the soundest or most discreet, whereby to regulate the appointment of official men, or the attainment of military command, I am very ready and willing to admit; and I do trust—that every other period of my long and unremitting service to my King and country, as “Commander-in-Chief,” justify me in asserting—that these momentary weaknesses were *exceptions* to the general tenor of my conduct and the principles which directed me in the bestowing of military preferment.

Nor was it ever objected to me, that the very few individuals which were benefitted by the intrigue and recommendation of Mary Ann Clarke, were unfit objects, or unworthy to hold the King’s Commission. I should have felt much more acutely on this matter, had such been the case; and that, in addition to the manner of attainment, the bad quality or the unfitness of the promoted had been urged against me. If such then was the case (*and I contend strongly that such was the case*), it would seem—that my general character and official habits had been such, as to deter the favourite from daring to propose to my consideration any unworthy object. Thus, the extreme point of accusation would extend to this:—that by means of an acquaint-

ance with Mary Ann Clarke, some few were brought under my notice sooner than, without such means, they otherwise might have been.

I would not, however, be mistaken—I am not contending for the strict propriety, or the correctness of my proceedings; but, *I would ask the world*—whether society is not frequently more influenced by the solicitations and claims of personal friends, and of beloved and intimate acquaintances, than by the colder appeals of merit, from persons unknown and unrecommended?

I fell, then, in a few instances, into a snare of which I was unconscious; and which I might the less suspect, from the apparently careless and unconcerned manner in which these requests for my patronage and influence were made.

I can, also, in the face of my country, and with a clear and unspotted conscience, assert, upon my honour, as a Prince and a soldier—that if for one moment, the suspicion had entered my mind, that advantage was derived, or to be derived to the influencing party, from the success of her requests, I should have spurned the petition, and instantly have broken off the connection.

At this point I may be permitted to remark, that long before Mr. Wardle had raked out his accusations, *all connection had ceased between myself and the female in question*. Such connection was broken off, in consequence of intimations conveyed to me—that the person alluded to, had presumed to boast of influence in the distribution of patronage. When, therefore, Mr. Wardle enacted “patriot,” if I had at first unconsciously erred, I had become sensible of the error, and

had voluntarily corrected it—no charge existed to affect me, *at the moment of his accusation.*

When, however, to my surprise, I found that a few trumpery love-letters had been hoarded up for some future day of threat and accusation, and for the purpose of extorting money; and that there could be found men, who under a pretence of patriotism and the furtherance of the public good, could lend themselves to the use of means so obtained; when such persons had succeeded in creating a false, but popular impression, and had filled the public mind with the belief, that throughout every department of the office of "Commander-in-Chief," all was favouritism, and speculation, and corruption; I felt it my duty *to acknowledge to my country*, in a letter to the Speaker of the House of Commons, the *incautiousness* of my conduct (I admit no higher stigma), and I dismissed myself voluntarily from my high and important office, by surrendering its commission to my King and father.

At this period, I had served my country in the important post of Commander-in-Chief, for no less than FOURTEEN YEARS; till that moment, *sans tache et sans reproche.* I intend not to impugn the motives of those who distinguished themselves as my unsparing accusers; some are no more; others yet live to acknowledge (I hope), the excess of their patriotic zeal.—May I not, however, upon occasion of thus referring to the past, caution my too hasty countrymen against condemning partial imperfections with as much severity as wilful and systematic crimes? May I not at this moment ask—whether I was not too harshly pressed—too illiberally



treated? The King, my brother, was of that opinion; and, when Regent, replaced me at the head of the British army, and in so doing, evidently gratified the country. I had no angry feelings to satiate—no animosity to appease; I resumed the command with unmixed delight; and in a few years afterwards, “the House of Commons,” once so ready to impugn my conduct, passed the following honourable testimonial, signified to me by its Speaker. This testimonial includes the period in which I was once presumed to have incurred the public displeasure:—

“Resolved, That the thanks of this House be given to Field Marshal his Royal Highness the Duke of York, Commander-in-Chief of his Majesty’s Forces, for his continued, effectual, and unremitting exertions in the discharge of the duties of his high station, during a period of upwards of twenty years, in which the British Army has attained a state of discipline and military science hitherto unknown; and which, under Providence, have contributed, in a great degree, to acquire for this Empire its present height of military glory among the nations of Europe.”

As I am addressing all classes of my countrymen, I may explain that which to all may not be known, or clearly understood, namely—“the sale of Commissions.” On the occasion alluded to, many, in all probability, considered, that from such sale advantage was derived to myself—*nothing can be more erroneous*. The sale of a Commission, and its purchase, are affairs resting entirely between officer and officer; the Commander-in-Chief taking care only, that the regulations, under which the transfer of a Commission from one



officer to another takes place, are complied with. All other Commissions are free gifts from the Commander-in-Chief; which being originally given, often become of great value when disposed of by the officer. It is not for myself to say, how I have dispensed this branch of my patronage.

I trust, that I have spoken as delicately as possible of myself, where myself is so much concerned. I wish not to open old wounds, or revive past contentions; but am anxious, that as "Commander-in-Chief," the Duke of York may rest in his grave, acquitted of all wilful error, and deemed faithful in his post, as far as human infirmity is capable of the performance of high and important duties.

I come, at length, to the question, dear, most dear to my heart. And now, thank God! I feel a self-approval, which softens much the pain of a separation from the world, and cheers me onward towards that Throne, before which princes and peasants meet, clothed alike in spiritual equality: for the King upon his throne, and the cottager of the village, who, in their distinct and several stations, have each performed the duties of such stations, stand before the Divine Judgment-seat, arraigned upon their deeds done, as relative to the duties respectively required from them.

My beloved countrymen will immediately revert to my meaning, and allude to the brief speech made by me, in the House of Lords, April 25, 1825. It has been broadly hinted—that I was counselled and advised to this my declaration. I DENY THE ASSERTION. The act was of my own free determination; nor did I consult any political advisers with a view to its expediency or

inexpediency; its propriety or impropriety; its fit or its unfit timeliness. I saw the occasion one of most interesting moment; that the balance of the Constitution was fearfully vibrating. I thought the time was come, when I could no longer delay to add a Parliamentary avowal to sentiments which I had always entertained; in which I gloried; in which I had lived; and in which I die.

Amidst all the invectives of party, the maledictions of the Romans, and the doubts which many advocates of my own opinions entertained of the necessity or prudence of my avowal; I never, for one moment, have regretted that I had made it. At this awful juncture, I feel, that I then performed my duty to the Throne—to the Altar—and to the People; and I would desire no further tablet to my memory, than an inscription to record my decease, my age, and this my speech upon a petition, which being committed to my care, it became my duty to present:—

“ I hold in my hand a petition from the Dean and Chapter of the Collegiate Church of St. George, Windsor, praying that no farther concessions may be made to the Roman Catholics. I am sure that any representation from so learned and respectable a body will be received with the attention it deserves; and therefore I should not have troubled your Lordships with any observations in support of it, if I did not feel this was an occasion on which *any man* may well be permitted to address your Lordships. I do this the more readily on the present occasion, because, feeling that I have not the habit of taking part in your discussions, I will not interrupt the progress of the debate on the Bill to

which the petitioners refer, if it should come into the House. It is now twenty-five years since this measure was first brought into discussion. I cannot forget with what events that discussion was at that time connected. It was connected with the most serious illness of one now no more; it was connected also with the temporary removal of one of the ablest, wisest, and most honest Ministers that this country ever had. From that time, when I gave my first vote on this question, to the present, I have never seen any reason to regret or to change the line which I then took. I have every year seen more reason to be satisfied with my decision. When the question comes regularly before your Lordships, it will be discussed much more fully and ably than I can do it; but there are two or three subjects on which I am anxious to touch; one is, that you place the Church of England in a situation in which no other Church in the world is placed. The Roman Catholic will not allow the Church of England or Parliament to interfere with his Church, and yet he requires you to allow him to interfere with your Church, and to legislate for it. There is another subject still more delicate, on which I cannot, however, help saying a few words. I speak (I beg to be understood) only as an individual. I desire not to be understood as speaking for any body else; but consider, my Lords, in what a situation you place the Sovereign; by the coronation oath, the Sovereign is bound to maintain the Church established in her doctrine, discipline, and her rights, inviolate. An Act of Parliament may release future Sovereigns and other men from this oath, or from any other oath to be taken; but can it release an individual



who has already taken it? I speak, I repeat it again, as an individual, but I entreat the house to consider the situation in which the Sovereign is thus placed. I feel very strongly on this whole subject. I cannot forget the deep interest which was taken upon it by one now no more, and the long and unhappy illness in which\*— I have been brought up from my early years in these principles, and from the time when I began to reason for myself I have entertained them from conviction, and in every situation in which I may be placed, I will maintain them—SO HELP ME GOD."

As the press is now conducted; men exercising power, or enjoying patronage, are not permitted long to remain ignorant of themselves; though many have been charged with errors of which they are innocent, while others have virtues attributed to them, of which they were perfectly guiltless. These are the consequences of party. As far as I can recognise myself as portrayed by the writers who have for so many years fastened upon me as public property; I find, that of all our family, the palm of superior intellect, and of sound and discriminating judgement, is awarded (and most justly) to our beloved King, my brother; and as regards myself—I am put down as a good-tempered, easy-hearted man in general, but determined and obstinate on particular points; and, that I am so determined and obstinate from preconceived prejudices, rather than from the result of convictions produced by deep consideration. I am happy, however, to find, that no one has the ill manners, or the courage, or the injustice, to

\* His Royal Highness was here too deeply affected to conclude the sentence.—Ed.

impute to my conduct improper motives ; so that, if I do wrong, I am accused only of an imperfect or imprudent judgement.

In fact, I am presumed to be a Prince without any artificial qualities, unaddicted to intrigue and finesse ; and supposed to mean his words, and perform his promises.

I am willing to rest satisfied with the sentence thus pronounced upon my character ; and I may presume to add—that, if personal attachment is a proof of the estimation in which individuals are held, I have a wide circle of friends ; and have yet to learn—*who* have reason to be my enemies.

I trust then, that from a well-meaning man, one unaccustomed to disguise his sentiments, and not unwilling to acknowledge himself wrong, when wrong—the explanation of my conduct (I condescend to no justification) as regards the preservation of the British Constitution in the principle of “ Protestant Ascendancy,” will be received with that respect which the opinions of a well-meaning man deserve. I have yet to learn, why—because brought up under the best of fathers, in the principles of a Protestant Government ; my adherence to Protestant principles is to be tortured into the terms, of bigotry and intolerance. Protestantism is the very antipode to bigotry and intolerance—and not being able to adduce any grounds for a change of opinions, it well became me to support those to which I adhered.

My sentiments have never been disguised upon this most important and vital question ; in the decision of which there is no medium. An attempt at a mixed

principle of government will eventually corrupt or paralyze one of the two component parts; and that which is of the most restless nature will ultimately prevail.

No step could be more natural, than, that upon an occasion when a bill for Catholic Emancipation (as it is falsely termed) had passed the House of Commons; and it was conjectured, that of the lay-lords the majority was presumed to be in favour of the bill; nothing (I repeat) was more natural, than that the Dean and Chapter of the Collegiate Church of St. George at Windsor, where the Royal Family were accustomed to attend the service of their religion, (and which Church is, in fact, peculiarly that of the King and his family,) should place in the hands of one of such Royal family, as a member of its congregation, a petition upon so urgent an occasion. Fixed upon by so learned and respectable a body to present their petition against further concession to the Romans, could I, without abandonment of all principle, hesitate for one moment to accept the duty?

I will ask, for the purpose of placing this point in a clear and simple position, this one question. Supposing, when such petition had been offered to me as a Peer of the realm, to be presented by me in Parliament, I had refused to take care of it, what would, or what might have been the result? The result would have been this.—A charge against the Duke of York, the presumptive Heir to the Throne, of abandoning to its enemies in the hour of danger and of trial, the principles upon which alone he could ever ascend that throne; and of neutralizing the oath by which the King his brother was already seated.



I was called upon then to fulfil a solemn duty ; a duty of which my known and frequently avowed sentiments rendered the performance suitable, timely, and conscientious. No other conduct could have been worthy of the Duke of York, the well-meaning man—and may I not almost note it down as a mark of degeneracy in the age—that I was held up to scorn and ridicule, and gross animadversion, because I fearlessly did my duty in Parliament upon my own responsibility, and in happy accordance with the principles I had ever professed.

There was very little courtesy in the manner in which the Romans treated me on the occasion. “What other course could the Duke of York have taken?”—“It was to be expected from him”—“It was at least consistent, however opposed to the attainment of our objects”—ought to have been the language of fair opponents; but bigotry, intolerance, illiberality, and narrow-mindedness, to say nothing of later Bacchanalian exultations at the near prospect of my decease, were the terms of reproach heaped upon me by the Romans, and the free-thinking press.

I will here apprise such opponents—that the time *will* come, when their conduct to myself will be used as a powerful argument in support of the unchanged virulence, and incapability of accordance, which still exist in the character of Roman communicants.

On presenting this petition, which my duty as a Peer of the realm enjoined me to do, I acted only as an individual. All the importance and consequences attached to the step so taken, were so attached by others, not by myself. It was a question on which I felt that

any man might well be permitted to address his Peers—And was the consequence of my rank and high station, and proximity to the Crown, to be tortured into reasons, why I was to remain silent, and, unlike all others, debar myself from the expression of my own sentiments? Which of the two was the most honourable and best-meaning, and most correct step towards the party I was presumed to oppose? To blind them by my silence, and make the sentiments of the Heir-presumptive a matter of doubt, or pivot of intrigue?—or, to remove all doubt, and leave the party nothing to hope, as far as my opinion and determination were concerned?

I confess frankly, and honestly, and unreservedly, that had I come to the Throne of England, and taken the oaths now presented in the ceremony of the Coronation of the Protestant Kings of England; and had a bill been subsequently tendered to me which admitted the Roman Catholic into the British Protestant Government—I COULD NOT HAVE SIGNED IT—I DARED NOT HAVE SIGNED IT. It was therefore much more just towards my opponents, that they should know the extent of opposition which my conscience would interpose in the attainment of their object, rather than there should remain the least suspicion of any change in my sentiments.

When, therefore, in accompanying the petition of the Dean and Chapter of the Collegiate Church of St. George, Windsor, I declared—that I had been brought up from my early years in these (Protestant) principles; and that from the time I began to reason for myself I had entertained them from conviction; and



that in every situation in which I might be placed, I would maintain them; and when, upon so solemn an occasion, (one no more of a political than of a religious character,) I called GOD to witness my declaration; I acted in my character, as a Prince without dissimulation; as a son remembering and revering the memory of a King, who deserves to be remembered and revered; and I think meanly of the talents and heads of metaphysicians and politicians who ridicule the impulses of the heart, and laugh at the avowals of determined principles, wishing them, to give way to fears and expediency.

I have alluded to the Bacchanalian exultations with which the prospect of my approaching death had marked the mirth and raised the expectations of a party of Irish Gentlemen (Yes! of Irish Gentlemen!)

When the breath shall have left my weakening and unresisting frame, and the news of my decease shall reach Ireland; I anticipate—that, as none but savages could exult over the departed, however much in the anger of party and the irritation of disappointed hopes, they may have gladly anticipated the moment of my death; yet these Irish Gentlemen will recall their rash and giddy expressions, and endeavour to conciliate the public feeling so much outraged by their former excess. If such should be the case; if an affectation of lament over the cold corpse which can no longer oppose them; over the voice then mute, which can no longer appeal to Heaven in support of its faith; and over the well-meaning Prince, whose honesty of purpose will never be forgiven by the Romans, be acted—LET NOT MY COUNTRY BE DECEIVED! It is the charac-

ter of the Roman to avail himself of every incident, and of every expedient, in the attempt to accomplish his purpose, and to justify the means by the end in view. It would be too outrageous, too Romanish, and too impolitic, to exclaim—"He is gone, from whose death we anticipate victory!" "YORK, the bigot! the intolerant! our enemy is no more!" "The Heretic is dead!" This, to be consistent with the Bacchanalian anticipation of my death, ought to be, should be, and is at heart the language of the Romans; and should they put on a mask, and affect condolence, and lavish compliment; it is, because a gross outrage to my memory would be too daring even for those, who committed it towards me whilst on my death-bed.

On the occasion, then, of my decease (I am tempted to prophesy), I should be inclined to think—that the Romans will affect to bury all animosity in my grave; and to dilate, upon what they may please to call the obstinacy and inveterate prejudices of my temper, as the errors of a mistaken man whom they may affect to pity and forgive. Such a dissimulating course will however, be easily detected; it will be politic, it will be Roman; for the country will not be prepared to admit so immediately of any insult to my memory; and fondly do I hope, that in the future struggles in defence of the corner-stone of the Constitution, there will be no occasion to lament my death, and exclaim, "Would that HONEST YORK was now alive." I trust that never will arrive such occasion; and that in the path which I have fearlessly marked out, the succeeding members of my family will steadily follow—for, when once the cords which confine and balance the



Protestant Constitution of England are loosened or snap; the country will then resemble a balloon, apparently magnificent in its ascent, but uncertain of guidance, and tending constantly to annihilation.—And yet, I trust, that I may be allowed, even after this strong expression of my sentiments, to say—that to the protection of the Protestant Constitution I do not add the least ill feeling toward the Roman religion; for amidst much that I, being a Protestant, consider erroneous; I cannot but admire the constancy, with which the members of that persuasion adhere to what is termed by them “the religion of their forefathers.”

I wish the Protestant or Reformed religion to be preserved pure and sincere; the Roman has the same wish for his own faith; but the mode of preservation is totally distinct: the one appeals to the exercise of individual judgment; the other only to the authority of the priest. The Protestant is offered by his Church a religion of which he may be the judge, and into the merits of which he may inquire; if he rejects the proffered doctrine, he may depart in peace, uncondemned and unanathematized.—To the Roman is tendered a religion, which is previously declared pure, unchanged, and unchangable; if he accept it not, he is denounced, proclaimed a heretic, and put out of the pale of future salvation. This appears to me the distinction which marks the two communions at their separate thresholds; and though the doctrines entertained may in many points be similar; yet the willing freedom with which the one may be sustained; and the positive and unconditional slavery of intellect to which the other requires submission, create as much distinc-

tion between Roman and Protestant, as between the follower of the law of Moses and the Christian. The latter believes in Christ; the former would do so, could he be satisfied, that the real Messiah had appeared.

Since, however, I have taken so positive and so decided a position as to the great Constitutional principle of Protestantism; I think myself bound in some measure to adduce reasons for the part which I have acted—an honest one, and formed upon mature conviction.

I take the simple question to be this—That it would be most desirable that an unsuspecting and unsuspected union could take place amongst all his Majesty's subjects. I, as a Protestant, avow, that nothing could be more important, or conducive to the strengthening of the British empire, or the increase of its developing powers. If I could have been convinced of the propriety of the means, and could see how the many propositions for the purpose could be carried into *safe* practice, I had never made the declaration of April, 1825; for I admit, that in a divided population the seeds of danger and of disaffection are sown, which it would be most desirable to eradicate. But if this can only be done by the sacrifice of fundamental principles, one danger is but exchanged for another. In this great difficulty of bringing two as opposite systems as can be well imagined into one cordial operation, all chance of success is, *ab initio* rendered desperate; since the principle of one is, "an utter incapacity of consolidation." I may be told, that this discordance exists only in spiritual matters; but I have yet to learn—where is to be found that distinct and precise line, which is so



distinct and so precise as not to trench on the temporal authority due to the Sovereign? where is such distinct and recognized, and undisputed boundary between a spiritual and temporal allegiance, so that each may be duly paid to two Sovereigns so unhesitatingly and so precisely, that *no possible case can arise*, in which the one shall not militate against, or contravene the other? Till this separation is accomplished, no complete allegiance can be made to a Protestant King by a Roman subject.

If I mistake not, a strong case (and I believe that it was matter of fact) was once explained in the House of Lords by the Bishop of Bath and Wells (but I think not Bishop Beadon); which bore strongly upon this very point. "A Roman Catholic being a pauper, was in the work-house; he complained of working on a Saint's day, and refused to do so; the master then, according to the rules, refused him his sustenance; the Roman referred the case, as a matter of conscience, to his Priest; the Priest submitted it to his diocesan; from the diocesan it passed to the Vicar Apostolic; and being thought important, was eventually carried to the Seat of Spiritual Supremacy, ROME." This case appears trivial in itself. I never learnt whether it was decided, that the Roman should starve on Saints' days, or work upon indulgence, and be permitted to satisfy his hunger: but, trivial as it is, yet it is upon such trivial points, involving matters of conscience, that the Roman Church takes her high and commanding station. Nothing is too trivial for her ecclesiastical interference.

I have said, that I never yet could see, how the many propositions or schemes for Catholic Emancipation

could be carried into *safe* practice; and if I venture this assertion, as regards the union of Protestant and Roman in the same system of civil government; how much stronger does not the objection become, when even the Romans themselves are divided to this hour in the means of its accomplishment? And if, (and the argument is strong) the splendid talents of a Pitt, a Burke, a Grattan, a Plunkett, a Fox, a Canning, with many accomplished and highly-gifted Peers of the realm, could never reconcile, by their profound theories and captivating sophistry, the main body of the people to the chance of endangering the foundation of the Constitution; surely there must exist some real and uncompromising difficulties, which will not bend to the most finished oratory, or the most artful intrigue; and if so—is not that Constitution *firm* which is able to resist such political efforts? and *if* firm, shall we not thus continue it, rather than admit other workmen who are avowed enemies to its structure?

As on my presentation of the petition from the Collegiate Church at Windsor, I alluded to the late Mr. Pitt as one of the wisest, ablest, and most honest Ministers this country ever had; and as I am also aware that this statesman so spoken of by me, was an advocate for Catholic Emancipation; I may dare to assert—that the impossibility of accomplishing his design, upon the union of Ireland, was created by the acts of the Romans themselves in Ireland. The contentions and disputes between the clergy and laity among the Irish Romans, put it out of the power of that Minister to perform his pledge, even had not other obstacles interposed.

One of the plans of the late Mr. Pitt, was, to make a

provision for the Roman clergy in Ireland ; and as the period of the union drew nigh, and legal measures were advancing towards its completion ; when already most of the feudal disabilities had been removed ; and the Roman laity were admitted to become Justices of the Peace, to act as Jurymen, to acquire landed property, and to vote at elections ; a meeting of the Roman bishops, at which their primate presided, took place in January 1799—to consider a proposal made to them by the Government, of a settled, legal and independent provision for the priests of their communion. At this meeting, the following resolution was passed—“ That a provision *through Government* for the Roman Catholic clergy of the kingdom, competent and secured, ought to be thankfully accepted.” At the same meeting, a second most important point was also considered, namely—the mode by which the bishops might submit their appointments to a protestant King,—and if I mistake not, two resolutions similar, if not precisely in the following terms, were also agreed to.—1st. “ That such interference as might enable the government to be satisfied of the loyalty of the person appointed, was just, and ought to be agreed on.” 2nd. “ That the person elected (bishop) should be presented by the president of the election to the Government, and that if any objection was intimated within one month, the electors should again convene, and proceed to another election.” An estimate of the amount required for the support of the priesthood ; was (as I have understood) delivered to the Government, and at the moment of the union with Ireland ; CATHOLIC CONSOLIDATION, (a term which I much prefer to *emancipation*) appeared all but accom-



plished—I am ready to admit, that the two measures, “provision for the priests,” and “the negative appointment of the bishops,” would have produced the result of “Roman consolidation.” These measures were in the very teeth of Romanism. Had they been carried into effect, in all probability the promise of Mr. Pitt to the Irish-Romans would have been performed.

Now let us look a little forward. The resolutions alluded to were taken in the year 1799, a year previous to the union. No sooner was that union affected, than the political world was stunned with the discussions respecting the veto. Nothing was more talked of, argued, and sickening, than the eternal cry of the veto. Then how acted the same body of priests in Ireland? We have seen what they proposed in 1799, and what they appeared fully prepared to accede to and accept; not without some gently loud hints, that they would act with or without the Pope. But in 1808, a very opposite declaration issued from the same body; namely, “That it was *inexpedient under existing circumstances*, to introduce any alteration in the canonical mode hitherto observed in the nomination of the Irish Roman Catholic bishops.” I lay a stress upon the term, *inexpedient under existing circumstances*, because I shall offer an explanation presently.

Two years afterwards, (in 1810) the disposition to receive a legal and competent support from the Protestant Government, was also completely negatived by the following determination, emanating from the same authority and the same body—“That they neither sought nor desired any other earthly consideration for their spiritual ministry to their respective flocks, than



what they may from a sense of religion and duty voluntarily afford them."

Five years after, (in 1815) as if the resolution of 1808 was not sufficiently decided, the same body and the same authority came to the following resolution—"Resolved, that it is our decided and conscientious conviction, that any power granted to the Crown of Great Britain, interfering *directly* or *indirectly* in the appointment of Bishops for the Roman Catholic Church in Ireland, must essentially injure, and may effectually subvert the Roman Catholic religion in this country."

"That with this conviction deeply and *unalterably* imposed on our minds, we should consider ourselves as betraying the dearest interests of that portion of the Church which the Holy Ghost has committed to our care, did we not declare most unequivocally, that we will at all times, and under all circumstances, deprecate and oppose, in every canonical and constitutional way, such interference."

I would ask—could a greater vacillation, or change from one set of resolutions to another diametrically opposite, be produced, than those exhibited by the Irish Roman bishops? I will endeavour to explain the causes, and furnish a clue to the term, *inexpedient under existing circumstances*.

In the years 1789, 1791, and 1792, were passed many of the most important acts as regarded the temporal disabilities of the Irish Roman laity; at all which I most heartily rejoice; though somewhat doubting, whether a system little short of universal suffrage was really a boon granted. In these years, the French Revolu-

tion was devastating the Continent ; yet, notwithstanding the revision and abolition of the penal code, and a foreign war raging ; England was, in 1798, rewarded by an Irish Rebellion. This was within two years of the union, in the very height of Buonaparte's career, and one year previously to his appointment as First Consul of France.

And mark ! When the Irish Roman Catholic priesthood declared their inclination to receive a permanent provision from the British Protestant Government, and to allow to a British Protestant King a negative choice in the appointment of their bishops ; the Irish Rebellion had been quelled, religion had been abolished in France, the Pope was the prisoner of Buonaparte ; and all was dreary in prospect, and tended to a loyal submission. The Irish Roman Catholic bishops prepared, under *these* events to submit ; and had their then determinations been carried into instant effect, Ireland by this time might have been nearly protestantized.

In 1804, (four years only after the union) Buonaparte became Emperor of France. The question of his coronation was paramount and important. He was reconciled to, or rather forced the Pope to a reconciliation with himself. He restored religion to France as a matter of policy—and in 1810 was married to the daughter of the Emperor of Austria. Here, again, the aid of the Pope became of importance—of double importance—namely, to procure a divorce from the Empress Josephine, and to enable him to marry the Archduchess.—Convenient Pope ! Accommodating popery !

What the Irish Roman Catholic priesthood *would have acceded to* when France owned no God, and had



discarded the Pope ; and when the latter was no other than a state prisoner ; when the rebellion in Ireland was crushed, and her union accomplished with powerful England, struggling through a tremendous war ; the same body *rejected*—as the fortunes of the Pope improved. In 1814 the Pope issued the bull for restoring the order of the Jesuits.

I do not know, whether an influence which can arrest a great parliamentary measure, and throw back into utter confusion an arrangement which attempted to compromise all differences, may or may not be considered as an interference in temporal matters ; if not an interference, I dare to pronounce it an influence paramount to an interference ; an influence far beyond an interference, because it can arraign a measure in its embryo. For myself, watching the march of events, and the inconsistency of the Irish Roman Catholic body ; I never can bring myself to any other conclusion—than that there exists a close connection between Ireland Roman Catholic, and the court of the Propaganda at Rome, and through that instrumentality, with his Holiness the Pope, which can mar *any* parliamentary measure displeasing to the Papists.

Upon a later occasion, when the veto was abandoned, and Mr. Plunkett's two bills were carried through the House of Commons ; they were met in the House of Peers by a protest on the part of the Vicar Apostolical of the midland district, in the shape of a theological judgment. One of the bills of Mr. Plunkett was intended to regulate the correspondence between the Roman Catholics of England and Ireland and the Pope—and among other objections contained in such

theological judgment, was the following very effective and forcible one, namely—"As the revision by the commissioners and clerks of a new devised civil office, of all rescripts from the Holy see, implies in many cases, *the breach of most sacred professional secrets on our parts*; and as such revision has been *recently declared* by that see to be a violation of her divinely constituted spiritual supremacy; hence, WE DECLARE, that we *cannot* concur in, or consent to any such regulation. Nor would the difficulty be removed, by referring the revision to the intended ecclesiastical commissioner; because in the cases supposed, we are each of us as much bound to secrecy with respect to ecclesiastical, as to lay persons."

Even in this latter declaration, there is evidence of a correspondence and previous communication with the Pope. A Vicar Apostolical comes forward with language addressed to the House of Peers tantamount to this—"You are about to consider a bill connected with our religious regulations—you may possibly pass that bill; but, my Lords! a communication has taken place between me and the Holy See, and I have authority to declare, that even should such bill pass, it is contrary to the DIVINELY CONSTITUTED SPIRITUAL SUPREMACY OF THE CHURCH OF ROME; AND, therefore, WE, THE PRIESTS, cannot concur in, or consent to any such act of Parliament."

My language in Parliament against further concession to the Romans was this—*The Roman Catholic will not allow the Church of England or Parliament to interfere with his church.* I have referred to recent facts, which are, on this question, matters of history; and can any one, who may peruse this my letter, and compare the



facts and evidences and historical documents produced, say, after candid and fair examination—that I have not fully supported the assertion made in my place in the House of Lords? I again repeat, I impress it upon the public mind with an anxious feeling, that had the two bills of Mr. Plunkett passed the House of Lords, and received the Royal signature, the Roman priests would have set these acts of Parliament at defiance.

These acts, had they passed, would have been laws of the land, to be enforced by royal authority in the courts of justice. Now, I would ask, whether the exercise of the royal authority in the courts of justice, is the exercise of a *temporal* power vested in the King? If it be granted to me in the affirmative, and the Roman priests will not submit to such laws—from whence do they derive the impulse, the influence, or the authority which render them thus disloyal? The Vicar Apostolic of the midland districts, tells the Peers in Parliament the reason, *why* the Roman priests cannot concur in or consent to the bills about to pass; *because*, such revision (of the correspondence between the Romans here and the Pope) had been *recently declared* by that See to be a violation, &c. &c.—and it is to be observed, that this was also a *previous* declaration from the Pope, obtained in time, to be opposed to the acts in progress through Parliament. Can the truth then be supported, that any acts of a British Protestant Parliament will bind any Roman, if connected with the regulation of his religion, unless the Pope had previously given his sanction to the measures?

Should Catholic Emancipation at any time be brought

about, by any other means than by the progress of conversion to the reformed or Protestant Church, one of two things must unavoidably take place. Should the bills of repeal or enactment please the taste of the Holy See, they will then be obeyed as laws; *because* of such approbation; if they pass without such sanction, they will *never be obeyed* by the Roman priesthood. In either case, the authority, or influence, or command of the Pope is paramount. In the one case it acts secretly, but positively—in the other actively, by dissent. In both cases, it is supremacy; a supremacy contravening, and more powerful than an act of a British Protestant Parliament.

The bills in question, and which the Pope's spiritual supremacy would have rendered nugatory, did not pass; and I believe the next measure was the *insidious* bill of Mr. Canning. I call it an insidious bill, because, had it become law, and the few Roman Catholic Peers affected by it been seated in the House of Lords, no argument could have shut the doors of the House of Commons against untitled Romans. To use an old expression, "it would not have been just, fair, or honest, to make chalk of one and cheese of another." I call the attempt, therefore, insidious; because it would not have been a complete legislative enactment, (such as the importance of the matter at issue could alone be satisfied with), but a mere stepping-stone to others which must unavoidably have followed. For upon what grounds could it have been maintained, that the Roman Peers might be admitted to sit as Legislators, and the qualified Roman Commoners *not*? I call, there-

fore, the bill brought in and so ably and captivantly supported by Mr. Canning, an *insidious* bill.

The next measure was (I believe) the second attempt of Mr. Plunkett, at the time when I felt myself bound to take a decided part. Of that measure, I need only say, that it possessed all the character of imbecility impracticability and chicane which have marked all other the legislative proceedings on this question. One party was for a bill, declaring the Romans emancipated without any restrictions whatever; another was for the two wings, as they were termed; which two wings included a provision for the Roman clergy, and a negative controul over the choice of their bishops—so that even had this bill passed, it would have so passed in the very teeth of the resolutions agreed to by the assembled Irish Roman bishops in 1808 and 1815, which to this hour remain unrescinded.

Am I not, therefore, again borne out in my Parliamentary declaration, that the anomaly in legislating, as regards the Roman, is this, “that no Protestant Parliament *can* legislate for his religion? *The Roman Catholic will not allow the Church of England or Parliament to interfere with his Church.* All religious classes not according with the whole faith of the Church of England, or her discipline, still acknowledge the supremacy of the King, since by obeying such laws as relate to them, they accept from the lawful authority the privileges, aids and exemptions allowed them by the statutes of the realm. The Constitution of England, bottomed as it is upon the union in the Crown, of temporal and spiritual allegiance, yet extends



protection to all—but the Roman sets himself above this principle of the Constitution; and owes obedience only to the king, *as far as the laws are in his opinion not incompatible with his religious tenets or professions.*

I wish to speak more to the hearts than to the heads of my countrymen; whose heads have, I fear, been getting of late too clever for their hearts. In my own case, I have often observed; that the critics of the day will not allow much merit to my head, though my heart is quite to their satisfaction—and really I feel proportionately obliged to them, preferring much a good heart with a so-so head, to a bad heart with a good head—for I have generally understood, that the last mixture is not unfrequently found in the possession of great rogues. My thanks, therefore, are cordially due to such critics for the distinction made in my favor. However, I am in hopes, that my head has enabled me to show; that even among the Romans themselves, all is confusion and contradiction as to the mode of attaining their object; and I might even add to the facts already produced, this further circumstance; namely—that at the very time when the Roman Irish bishops had rescinded their determination to allow the British Protestant Government a negative in the appointment of their successors, His Holiness the Pope *had approved* of the plan; and in a letter dated Genoa, April 25, declared as follows:—"In the event of Emancipation, by which the Catholics would be greatly benefited, his Holiness will have *no hesitation* in permitting those who are accustomed to recommend the candidates to the approval of the Holy See, to submit their names, as a preparatory measure to the consideration of the Minister of the



Crown, in order that the government, if any of them should be disagreeable or suspected, may point out the name of such person to be expunged; provided always, that a sufficient number remain for the purpose of allowing his Holiness to choose from amongst them.

Thus, in fact, at the very moment when the late bills were pushing through Parliament, so little were the parties for whose benefit such bills were to be so passed agreed amongst themselves, that three distinct schisms were in powerful operation.—The laity in favour of the wings; the laity with the priests against the wings; and the Pope in favour of a negative approbation, to which the priests refused assent.

When Mr. Pitt wished to carry into legislative effect Catholic Consolidation, he was anxious to remove some of the charges made against the Romans, as to the “deposition of kings and princes,” “civil allegiance,” and “faith with heretics;” for which purpose, three questions were proposed to the universities of the Sorbonne, Louvaine, Douay, Alcala, and Salamanca. I set no value, and repose no faith or confidence upon the answers obtained. The questions were proposed, on the suggestion of Mr. Pitt, by the British Catholics; but the answers are of no authority whatever, and so Mr. Butler (the Roman advocate) will tell you, unless he will eat his own writings. The questions to be put should be, *not*—whether such universities *were of opinion*; but—*whether the papal code did or did not contain the doctrines charged against the Roman Catholics? And if they did, whether they were considered in the force of councils? And if not, then, WHY WERE THEY NOT*

EXPUNGED? This is to come to close quarters, and when the British Protestants will first move for a committee to enquire and examine, and gain sound information, and become acquainted with and report upon the real principles and doctrines of a religion whose adherents to this day call the Established Church "a damnable heresy," and "an usurpation"—the light then will be afforded, and the road cleared for operation, which, whenever it takes place *heedlessly*, will *revolutionize England*.

Where, and on which side, lies the obstacle? From whence proceeds the difficulty of the measure?—I say, from the Romans themselves. They will not condescend to give way one inch; but they demand—demand—demand, without offering one security, or proposing even to procure from the Pope, the recantation or rescinding of doctrines which they continually deny and repudiate—and, therefore, whilst there exist a Pope and a college of cardinals, who are not to be acted upon by negotiation; and who will not sacrifice one black letter to the ease and settlement of Protestant doubts, fears and suspicions; so long will it be unsafe to confer power, the application of which cannot be regulated or foreseen.

The Pope and Popery, or Romanism, are to the Protestant, like a man in the dark. His fears or suspicions conceive him to be a giant, a tremendous giant; whilst the Roman would have it believed, that he is a little harmless and inoffensive personage. Both may be wrong; but the delusion is kept up by the Roman not showing him out, and bringing him to the light; or, when detected, disowning him. There is no sound principle



in mystery of human creation—it induces fear or superstition, and restrains the intellectual faculties.

When, therefore, there are decided and fundamental differences of opinion among the parties who themselves seek emancipation; an avowal, that the act to be passed in their favour is contrary to their divinely constituted supremacy; when doctrines charged against them, though stoutly denied, are refused to be declared as obsolete or expunged from the canons of their councils; and since those councils are held up as paramount authority; if such be the present state of Romanism in this country—surely something remains to be *previously* done, before the guards, securities, and tests of the British Protestant Constitution are to be laid low, and its distinguishing character disfigured.

I hope to have adduced some grounds for entertaining an opinion, that as regards the Romans themselves, they would only bring into the constitution as political agents, a rope of sand.—Disunited among themselves, they would be most troublesome associates, and that which is now deemed the “spirit of party” only, would assume the deeper and more rancorous impression of “faction.” I must confess honestly, that I should dread to substitute the terms “whig” and “tory,” “ministerial” and “oppositionist,” for Protestant and Roman.

There is another point which seems to me of no common importance, and upon which I have not observed a sufficient stress to have been laid—I allude to the fact, that the Roman considers the British Protestant Church as heretical in doctrines, and what is still more to the quick, as “an usurper of her revenues.” The acceptance of a legal and permanent provision

from the British Government might have been tantamount to an abandonment and waiver of this claim. Probably this might have occurred to the memories of the Roman bishops as an objection, and led to their subsequent recantation of an arrangement previously approved; and therefore I should wish, that some legal and public instrument should declare the abandonment of all right to the sees of the national church on the part of the Roman bishops; if it were only done as proof of a sincere spirit of conciliation. "Whilst ye stand, take heed lest ye fall," is no less a good axiom in temporal than in spiritual matters; and at present such a measure as I have hinted at may appear unnecessary from the very secure position in which the national Church of England is particularly placed. But in Ireland—no sooner will one great measure be carried, than the strength and influence acquired by it, will be directed to the attainment of some further boon. The Irish Roman peer, and the Irish Roman commoner become legislators, must, if they be sincere in their religion, pay some attention to the concerns of their own church. They either will or will not admit the influence of their priests—if they do *not* admit such influence, the tide of the reformation will flow afresh; if they *do* become attentive to the claims and interests of their priests, the patrimony of the Church of England and Ireland will be subject to constant, repeated, and unwearied attacks.

It is not sufficient in my mind, that any such view is disclaimed by the clergy; to have had occasion to disclaim it, is one proof that they have been suspected of entertaining such a design. Else, why should it be



alluded to as one of the probable results to arise hereafter from the effect of Catholic Emancipation? There can be no doubt, that formerly the sees of the United Kingdom were vested in the then church of the kingdom, being Roman Catholic; that at the time of the Reformation the patronage or investiture was taken by Henry VIII. from the Pope, and many of the possessions of the churches given to laymen. But this act was the depriving of one party of his possession against his will; and of the deed, the party dispossessed has never by compromise, admission, or any one voluntary acknowledgment, or by any document, directly or indirectly, admitted the legality. The Roman Hierarchy of the United Kingdom considers itself to this moment, as merely displaced from a possession to which it still claims a right, and to recover which, notwithstanding the long lapse of dispossession, its priests would consider themselves justified in taking any steps which opportunity or change of sentiment, or public convulsion might afford. They might advance this project:—Let England have her Protestant Church, and Ireland her Roman; and let each be considered the national one in the respective kingdoms.

The position, therefore, of the Church of England as regards that of the Roman Communion, is totally different from that in which she stands as towards any seceders from her doctrine and discipline. But I certainly advance this objection more with a view to the state of the Roman Church in Ireland, which governs spiritually the greater part of the population, than from any fear of the established hierarchy of Great Britain. Still, in a measure which is to change the

whole political settlement of the country, no assertions should be taken, no declarations received, no disavowals assented to; security, and nothing *but* security should be taken against all and every contingency, however remote, and all and every possibility, however improbable. Nothing should be left to feeling, honour, or promise. I again repeat, security—*nothing but security* should be contained in the bond of satisfaction.

In the theological judgment already alluded to, the Vicar Apostolical of the midland district frankly acknowledges, that the Roman clergy *cannot* bind themselves to have *no* correspondence or communication with the Pope or the see of Rome; which correspondence or communication shall *not* tend directly or indirectly to overthrow or disturb the Protestant Church.—And why?—Because, he says, (and truly says) that all the preaching, writing, and ministry of the Roman church *tend indirectly to that effect*.—And in one of Mr. Plunkett's bills; although such bill would have enabled a Roman to sit as a legislator; the same person was interdicted from voting at a parish vestry, or acting as churchwarden—and the reason for this was, that in the reign of George the First, a special bill for a similar purpose had been rendered necessary, because *the building and repairing of Protestant churches had* (by the Romans being in Church-Protestant office,) *been obstructed and prevented*. And to this day, it has been found necessary, *to continue* such a precaution.

The Protestant Government of England makes an annual grant in support of the Roman college at Maynooth.—The Protestant Government of England, (had Roman consolidation been practicable,) offered, as one



of the means to effect it, to support all the Roman clergy. What a different spirit is this, from one which cannot be trusted, with the simple office of preventing a Protestant Church from being repaired with a few bricks, and a hod or two of mortar! Can *any* securities avail against such a feeling?

I have said thus much, against further concession to the adherents of a faith, which is bound, indirectly, to overthrow and disturb the Church of England, as being damnably heretical, and an usurper. Will the Pope recall the anathema, and acknowledge that the Protestant has a right to consult the Scriptures, and examine and think for himself? And that if, upon such search and such examination, he come to any other conclusion than that of adhering to the Roman Church, he may do so safely, and not be put out of the pale of everlasting salvation? If the Pope can, and will, and dare do this, then we may, possibly, be safe; for it is not so much the creed or faith of the Roman Church which is at variance with that of the Protestant, as the blasphemous doctrine—that out of the pale of the Church of Rome there is *no* salvation. And here, possibly, I may be told of the Athanasian Creed, and its damnatory clause.

I am no deep theologian—no learned Theban—but a plain-meaning man, with a so-so head, but a good heart. I will, however, not hesitate to give the meaning in which I take that clause so often quoted and referred to, on occasion of comparison between the two Churches, with a view to the charge, that each maintains the *exclusive* right of salvation within her own pale.

The Creed of St. Athanasius contains the doctrines of

the Christian belief, and was drawn up for the guidance of the early Christians, at a time of great persecution. But it is presumed to address itself to those who have *already professed* to call themselves Christians—persons being admitted communicants, recite and acknowledge the articles of their belief, from which, if they depart, they are no longer of the Church with which they have professed a communion; and as it is said, “that to receive the Sacrament unworthily is to eat and drink damnation;” so to confess to, and apparently to uphold certain articles of faith, and not to keep them holy and undefiled; whilst it is a gross deception and an hypocrisy which disqualifies the Christian, renders him, in effect, of some other denomination than a Christian or member of that particular Church to which he appears to belong, without being truly, and in his heart, a member. I conceive, that this condemning clause includes only professors who are *not* believers—those who have any other than a Christian motive for their adherence to a visible church. In this view, the damnable clause is applicable only to those appearing to belong to a faith outwardly, which they do not in their hearts subscribe to; and it is to the congregation *alone* that it is addressed.

But the Church of Rome goes beyond. She declares herself the only true church; unchanged—unchangeable—divinely constituted—supreme. The Douay Bible contains this note on St. Matthew, cap. vi., v. 24.—“TWO RELIGIONS—God and Baal, Christ and Calvin, Mass and Communion, the Catholic Church and Heretical Conventicles.”

In the Roman Catechism, the young are *thus* taught:



Q. Believest thou, that the holy Catholic and Apostolical church is the ONE true church, in which the ONE baptism is given, and the true remission of all sins ?

A. I believe.

Q. Moreover, dost thou *accuse* every heresy which lifteth itself up against the holy catholic church ?

A. I ACCUSE them.

It is thus, that the Romans in their early years are tutored to *accuse* every other church than their own: and therefore, I conclude, that the difference between the two Churches is this—that the unworthy, or insincere, or hypocritical of the Protestant Church, who profess the faith, but believe it not, are condemned. But the language of the Church of Rome is this—“ Here is MY faith—out of it there is no salvation; if ye believe it not, ye are *accursed*, and *cannot* be saved.

Thus, the condemnation of the one communion is confined to its own congregation, and is nugatory as applied to believers; whilst the other thunders forth from within its own cloisters, anathemas, and curses, and condemnation, against all who are *not* of its faith.

The Church of England does not presume to condemn and anathemize that of Rome. It considers her forms overstrained and unnecessary; and impelled or influenced by an excess of zeal, rather than a want of piety, or of religious feeling. The members of the Church of England are volunteers—those of the Church of Rome are not; “ Belong to me, for any other enlistment is disloyal,” is the principle of its recruiting.

The text-books, and the King’s Judges proclaim, that religion is “ part and parcel of the law of the land.”

Religion, therefore, is a component part of the Constitution. That Constitution I wish to preserve myself, and see it handed down to posterity unimpaired. When, therefore, I am asked to admit into the rank of law-givers, those who, on their entrance, say, "Your Religion is heretical, and therefore your Constitution faulty and corrupt; and I am, (as far as such part of it is connected with, and supported by religion,) bound to destroy and disturb it:" I must say, that I see no mutual accordance, no acquisition of strength, no possibility of fair and dispassionate discussion from such a party.

It is, however, argued; that the Roman Catholic being introduced into the higher rank of legislator, is more likely to abandon his faith by an association with Protestants, than entertain any designs against their preponderating influence. I am free to confess, that if I could bring myself to such an opinion, much of my opposition, and many of my objections, would sink before such an anticipated result. But an old soldier is not to be caught by probabilities, or subtleties—probabilities and subtleties rather thrown out by the party requiring admission, than attempted to be proved as at all likely to happen, by those who have the wish to admit.

My firm opinion is—that no sooner shall Catholic Consolidation be grafted on the Constitution, than many noble families will turn from the Church of England to the Communion of Rome; and I rely more upon the untitled and industrious classes of society for the maintenance of Protestant ascendancy, than I do upon the descendants of the Barons of Runnimeade. I

strongly suspect many Protestant noblemen to be Catholics at heart; and who, but for their seats in Parliament, would attend the Romish Mass to-morrow; and I fear, that but for the Bench of Bishops, my assertion would not remain long unproved.

The research and diligence of Mr. Leman have made some very late discoveries among the national records, relating to the plots and intrigues of the papists during the reigns of James and Charles the Second; and it is not improbable, that further proofs of facts now attempted to be denied or softened down, may be fully established. But I do not consider any reference to the past, a sound or good foundation for, or the rejection of present measures. The facts I have on the present occasion alluded to, are modern; and it is upon the existing and still unchanged character of Romanism that I bottom my opinions.

The principles being the same, unchanged and declared to be unchangeable, even in the belief to this day of the performance of miracles by Roman priests; I do not think it impossible that many disastrous events may arise again out of a religion in no wise altered.—It is said, that all fears may now be dismissed, since the race of the ill-fated and ill-advised Stuarts is no more; and since no one can appear at the Coronation with a right to impugn the succession of my august family to the throne of England. Granted!—But suppose I am not found wrong in my strong suspicions, that many ancient and noble families will return to Romanism, when by so doing they will not lose their Parliamentary privileges.—Will the example stop?—Will the contagion approaching so near the throne, and



among the King's hereditary counsellors, be stayed at such point? Suppose the case of a weak prince near the throne, becoming a convert to the Roman religion? Suppose by deaths he come in turn to succeed to the throne? His chance is cut off; he cannot reign. Why?—Because of his religion. Suppose him to be at the time a married man, and to have children brought up in the faith of the prince their father; and at the time remaining so; but, that after a Protestant prince shall have succeeded, (having also children to inherit,) one of the sons of the formerly disqualified prince shall retrace his steps, and return to the Protestant faith, the tool, perhaps, of some foreign power? If no pretender exists now—may not in such a case (a case by no means of difficult conception) a pretender arise? I put the question for consideration—for serious consideration.

There is (I believe) no man yet bold enough to bring forward a measure for Catholic consolidation, which is not accompanied by a protection of the Protestant principle—of, in fact, Protestant Ascendancy—and for this purpose, certain great officers of state, and the Monarch, *must be* Protestant. Now, in my simple way of arguing, *where protection is considered necessary, danger is apprehended and to be feared*—and yet the attempt is, to admit the danger with a view to contend against or crush it. I say—roll the barrel into Parliament, when you are satisfied *that it contains no gun-powder*—If you do not, there will be an explosion, however small the train. I say this *metaphorically*, as to blowing up Parliament, and sending the legs and arms and heads into a death's dance: but I do not

intend it otherwise than *seriously*, as conveying my opinion of the change which will be effected in the character of the Parliament. This change, I hear, is calculated upon to a certain extent; but such calculation proceeds upon the supposition that the opposing forces are to remain in statu quo; that there will be no desertions from the one to the other; no battles of opinion fought, and victories gained by means of the Romans, who, combating always in one compact body, animated by one leader and one purpose, will fall upon one, and side with the other, so as to carry off the victory, or be the means of securing it. It is not A opposing B that renders a decision certain; but the D which looks attentively on pending the combat, and aids only where he can ensure the victory. This, in my opinion, will be the policy of the Romans if ever in power.

Up to this point, I have endeavoured to explain, (as far as a well-meaning man with a so-so head, but a good heart *can* explain,) my disinclination to grant to the Romans any further concessions. The rights of the magistracy, the jury, and the freeholder, have been awarded to them; the path of honour, both in the navy and army, has been lately widened in their favour; the Government maintains, in a great degree, the nursery of their priesthood; and every accommodation, short of enabling them to contend against Protestantism, has been granted. Compare the state of Ireland in 1790 with the present period, (an interval of thirty-six years only) and what country, in a similar space of time, has advanced more in wealth and importance than Ireland has done!—Ireland, in which



direct taxation scarcely exists—certainly, it is not felt.

I have rested my objections upon several grounds.—

1. That the Roman will not allow a Protestant Parliament, or Protestant Church to interfere with his religion. I have proved that position, by referring to the theological judgment circulated among the Peers of Parliament, on the first attempt to pass Mr. Plunkett's two bills.—2. That on the several occasions, when measures have been pressed upon Parliament, the parties on whose behalf such measures were brought forward, were decidedly at variance upon the policy of such measures.—3. That the Roman bishops, on the prospect of the union between England and Ireland, had come to certain measures of accommodation and arrangement, which they subsequently retracted, not only in the most unequivocal, but in the most opposed manner, as regarded their former dispositions.—4. That any parliamentary measure would be contravened by the Roman priesthood, if interfering with their church discipline.—5. That the authority of the See of Rome is brought forward as the reason for such dissent.—6. That religion is part and parcel of the law of the land, and is embodied in the Constitution; that the admission therefore into the Constitution of a party who considers its religious branch as heretical and accursed, is an anomaly of the most extraordinary nature.—7. That the assertion so boldly made, that—by admitting the Roman into the Protestant Constitution—the former would abandon his creed and his principles, is mere assertion; and is rather a satire upon him, than any sound position whereon

to found a political measure.—8. That the answers of the Catholic universities to the questions propounded to them by the British Catholics, at the desire of Mr. Pitt, are mere opinions, and of no authority whatever in the canons of the Roman Church.—9. That some legislative declaration or compact should be entered into, in acknowledgment of the titles of the Protestant hierarchy to its sees and possessions; which should precede Catholic consolidation.—10. That where protection is required as part of a legislative measure, danger is to be apprehended.—11. That the case of a pretender *may* arise.

These are, I believe, the several grounds in which I have conscientiously opposed myself to further concession to the Romans. They are not the results of early prejudices, or unexamined history; but of my sincere and hearty conviction. I may not have it in my power in any other situation to prove that my declaration was mere verbiage. But at this solemn and serious moment, I wish to give strength to my former pledge; and to confirm it, as far as I can, by this voluntary explanation—I again repeat, that “Security,” *nothing but* “Security” must be taken; and as yet, none has been offered, none shewn, which even the weakest judgment could accept.

From this developement of my candid and honest sentiments, it may be said—that I am the enemy of the Romans—that had I lived, I would have cut them off from all hope, and have left them, as to the future, a prey to despair. Nay—that I should have preferred, to see the “Fair Green Isle” deluged with the blood of *the Roman* and the Protestant, in order to maintain the



ascendancy of the latter, and vindicate my own principles.

God forbid! and forgive those who have attributed such false intentions to me!

I never would, certainly, under any circumstances, have signed the death-warrant of the Protestant Constitution. Never would I, under any circumstances, have given my authority to a bill for Catholic Emancipation. No!—not even with the rebels sword at my throat.

The historian of my family has said—"Thirty-three generations, and a thousand years, occupy most certainly a small space even in the historical period of the world; but all greatness is relative; and it may be added, that there is not one family in Europe which can establish, by clear and contemporary proofs, a similar antiquity. The house of GUELPH appear as Sovereign Princes from the earliest period of their history. If, therefore, antiquity and illustrious birth are entitled to any degree of respect, Great Britain may be proud of her present Sovereign; and although 'George the First' owed the Crown more immediately to his female parent, yet he was the *only* lineal descendant of the Plantagenet stem.—The blood which warmed the heart of BRUCE flowed also in the veins of the Elector of Hanover. It cannot fail to be remarked in the history of this family, that while its sons acquired wealth and honours by their union with the daughters of Emperors and Kings, the daughters adorned the throne of the greatest potentates in Europe and Asia.

"Could the conjectural evidence of the German



“antiquaries be admitted, not less than five centuries might be added to the period of our history, and fifteen generations more of probable ancestors. But the highest ambition of human pride may be satisfied with what is certain in the pedigree of the House of GUELPH. There is no Sovereign House in Europe, ancient or modern, that has not been connected with, and sprung from some branch of this family.”

Succeeding, then, as my family did, to the Protestant Throne of England, and qualified as it was to succeed by the profession of the Protestant religion; it should never have been said of me, that in the fourth generation, such sacred qualification had been neutralized and betrayed by the Duke of YORK.

But, though I express myself thus strongly and decidedly, and undissimulatingly; my country may feel surprise, when I declare myself the staunch friend of “CATHOLIC CONSOLIDATION.”

**CATHOLIC CONSOLIDATION WILL PRODUCE EMANCIPATION.**

And as I am ready to admit, that England cannot be too warmly the friend of Ireland; that nothing can tend so much to a mutual repose, a mutual confidence, and a mutual greatness, than the settlement of this great question; I will now briefly explain what I mean by “Catholic Consolidation;” and my opinion, that it will produce “Catholic Emancipation.”

We have heard much of the Slave trade; in olden days, however, the Irish were accustomed to buy British children as domestic slaves; yet Ireland subsequently became subject to England as a conquest; and now the great object is, to unite both, so that they

may form, in heart, but one kingdom and one country<sup>9</sup>.

I may make myself more clearly understood, by stating, that I look for the effecting of Catholic Emancipation from the merging of the great mass of the Roman Irish into Protestantism ; by which, a consummation will be brought about, without the necessity for any legislative measures. This is what I mean by the term, **CATHOLIC CONSOLIDATION.**

It is now upwards of a quarter of a century that this great question has been agitated ; it has had the advocacy of the first orators and rhetoricians of the times ; the support of a great proportion of the press ; and, of what is termed the popular party. It has had influence enough to divide the administration ; and possibly to render an efficient Cabinet impossible of formation, until this question was abandoned to its fate, and no longer regarded and protected by Ministers. Yet, not only is the question *not* carried ; not only has the Protestant Ascendancy been active and powerful enough to withstand this shock of talent, this tide of popularity, and this division of the King's Cabinet ; but, in my humble opinion, the question has very considerably retrograded ; and I prophecy, that it will continue to retrograde till it dies away, and ceases to be an object to any important or numerous body of men.

During this lengthened period of discussion, I may venture to assert, without fear of contradiction ; that of temporal prosperity, Ireland has been acquiring an hourly increase. Since the Union, the existing commercial duties have ceased—the impediments to agriculture have been so removed, that Ireland will (I trust)



become to England what Sicily was to Rome—manufactures which existed, have been encouraged by a continuance of protection—and many, very many new ones have of late been introduced. Measures are now in progress, which will at no distant period, cause British capital to flow more spontaneously and abundantly into “the fair green Isle.” Many patriotic noblemen are taking greater interest in the management of their properties, as connected with the former barbarous and disadvantageous state of tenure; and all these measures have originated, and all these acts been done under or by a British Protestant Government. Too much cannot be effected for the benefit of Ireland; and I would recommend strongly the policy of returning all her revilings with real blessings.

However unacknowledged by the leaders of the Roman Irish faction, the mass of the population feel and admit, as private individuals, that the state of Ireland cannot now be compared with what it was in 1790, without confessing to a total and important change for the better. I am not prepared with all the official documents which would corroborate me in these assertions; but upon admitted generalities, I throw them out for contradiction, if contradiction can be given. This return, then, of substantial good for imaginary evil, must eventually create a feeling of silently increasing attachment to the ruling state; and lead individuals to examine more narrowly into the merits of disputed points, as their increasing wealth becomes more affected by any proposed change.

I cannot but rest some hope of CATHOLIC CONSOLIDATION upon the result of this most excellent

temper on the part of England towards important Ireland.

Like the mustard in Scripture, described as the smallest of seeds, but from which was produced a tree, so that the fowls of the air made their nests on the branches thereof;—PROTESTANTISM has grown in England. The seed was sown in England; its culture has been not unattended with danger; or unaccompanied with deep anxiety; for a moment indeed it appeared rooted up; it has now however produced the goodly tree, which twines its branches round the throne, and among the people—which goodly tree is poison to the accursing Roman, who would hew it down, and cast it into the fire. As yet in Ireland, this seed has been but very partially sown—Let the Book of Life be laid before the population, for adoption or rejection! Let the Irish *themselves* have the means of judging, whether the Protestant is or is not of an accursed faith; and then the question of Emancipation may begin to be understood. At present I consider it not to be understood; and that but for the noise of the New Catholic Association, of the collection of its rent, (which answers two purposes;—that of paying the political instruments, and of exciting hatred against Protestant England,) little would be heard of it.

I believe, I speak the sentiments of well informed and impartial Irishmen, when I state—that the excitation created by the demagogues of the New Catholic Association, is forced and artificial; that its fire is only kept alive by constant fuel and incessant stirring; and that there is throughout Ireland a torpidity, and disinclination to differences with this country. Subtle and



shrewd, but priest-ridden and credulous, as the great body of the Irish peasantry are; yet let their worldly condition be but improved, (with which Catholic Emancipation has nothing in common,) and their natural inquisitiveness will soon lead them to the enlargement of their understanding, and the detection of truth and error.—Nor do I see any impediment to the eventual Protestantism of Ireland, which did not oppose itself in former times to the Reformation in Great Britain: and I may possibly advance without offence, this supposition—That could the Union of Ireland with this country have taken place a century ago, the fruits of the Reformation might by this time have been completed in the former country.

I understand, that at this present moment, the conversions from Romanism are extensively proceeding in Ireland; perhaps I may say also, rapidly proceeding. If such is the case—let England prepare for a greater fit of bustle and complaint! for the last struggle of a brave spirit, is generally vigorous in proportion to the object to be secured by victory; or the dread of the loss of that, which may be delayed by an appearance of remaining strength. I deny not to the Roman Irish, the virtues of courage, or constancy; but I would wish the great body of the people to have an opportunity, a fair and unimpeded opportunity, of judging of the merits of the cause, in which such courage and constancy are displayed. If the Roman priests do not fear a comparison, or do not dread that an opportunity should be afforded for the free circulation of the Scriptures; if the Roman priests are so confident of the superior truth of their own divinely constituted church; they

would promote a comparison and an opportunity, which ought, according to their doctrines, to ensure to them the victory.

Here, then, I offer *another* ground for CATHOLIC CONSOLIDATION.—Namely, that Ireland generally has been, from various causes, obstructed in the knowledge of that which rendered perfect “the Reformation in England;” and that when time enough has elapsed, to make up for this delay, the same result may be reasonably expected.

I have alluded to the sums levied by a demagogue influence, and seconded by the priesthood, under the head of “Catholic Rent.” The payment may seem to be voluntary, because no legislative power exists to compel it; but if no legislative power, there is a spiritual influence exercised, of more efficiency—of much more efficiency—and the Roman, who having the means, refuses to contribute, becomes a *marked* man—and yet notwithstanding all this machinery, I think it no mean proof of the torpidity of the great body of the people; that complaints of the insufficiency of these collections are constantly made at the meetings of the association; and any contributions are received with much acclamation. Whatever may be my suspicions, (and I do not profess to fathom into the mode of expenditure,) I cannot well imagine, to what legitimate purpose such a collection can be applied; unless to bury their secretaries, who are permitted in their life-time, to starve upon the honour of gratuitous services. A great *conscientious* question, such as Emancipation ought to be to the Irish Roman, surely should be conducted by volunteer exertions of mind and body. But the orator who sets



a value upon his lost time, and missed briefs; and the scribbler who values the columns of his journal, are not very inaccessible to bribery and corruption. The best pay being on such occasion the best cause.

Here, then, is *another* feature in the management and getting up of Catholic Emancipation, which may lead to Catholic Consolidation. The cause which depends upon the purse wears out soonest—people do not allow patriotism to make holes in their pockets.

Another piece of mechanism in this important measure, is the counting of heads, in which with difficulty, the pig is omitted from the score. I know the motives of the census may be taken two ways; first, as shewing the numbers affected, or to be affected by the measure; and next, as a means of threat. I wish I could bring myself to think, that this census was only intended as a means of shewing the comparative or relative proportion of the population, as divided into Roman and Protestant. But when, in the proceedings of the Roman Parliament, I have read of allusions to *foreign* fleets, and *foreign* connections; of proceedings little short of attempts at alliance; and of the sympathies of *foreign* states in the degraded condition of Ireland. When, again, I find from accounts in *foreign* journals such allusions caught up, and Ireland unhesitatingly alluded to, as the vulnerable part of Great Britain; where, when an attack is to be made, it will be made—I must confess, that I am tempted to believe that Romanism has as extensive a language as Jacobinism—and as intelligible. I recognise in these expressions and allusions, that system of threat which I do not trace in other bodies—in other numerous

bodies excluded from some participations in public office or public honour. But I owe it to Ireland to declare, that little or no apparent impresson has been made by these demagogues on her loyalty; and, I think, these violent allusions have recoiled upon the authors of them.

I argue then, that this absence of all disposition to insurrection, when so repeatedly goaded; and of all traitorism, when so often hinted at; will secure peace to Ireland, till the many beneficial measures progressing in her favour shall have had time to produce their efficacy and their benefit.

By such a delay as this, CATHOLIC CONSOLIDATION may also be promoted.

Among the arguments in favour of "Catholic Emancipation," none has appeared to me so full of contradiction, chicane, and inconsistency, as its advocacy on the ground of "civil and religious liberty." Had I come to the Throne, I should have considered myself as thereon seated in virtue of the Revolution which took place, bottomed as it was upon a determination to support civil and religious liberty. The Revolution did not take place in opposition to a Pretender to the Throne; but because, in violation of his coronation oath, James II. had attempted to destroy the Constitution; and with it, the enjoyment of civil and religious liberty. For the blind obedience required to the priest, transfers itself into arbitrary power, when applied to civil matters. Romanism was banished from this country, because, in principle it is opposed to all religious liberty which is not of its sort, of its own grant or creation; and because, a Roman Catholic monarch is



subservient to the Pope as to ecclesiastical jurisdiction, or derives it from his authority; the Pope being also both a spiritual and *temporal* prince.

The favourite argument, or rather the apology made by the advocates of "civil and religious liberty," for their support to the Romans, is grounded (I believe) upon an assumed right to worship God according to individual conscientiousness or conviction. The Church of England is not against any such principle. She only claims the power of protecting and preserving herself; and throws open wide the door of admission, upon terms free to be accepted, and as free to be objected to; and there is hardly any one subject upon which there is more general misconception, (not to say ignorance in many), than the supposition, that the Church of England is a Church of exclusion. A quaker is no longer a Quaker, when he ceases to adhere to the rules and tenets of his Society—an Unitarian ceases to be an Unitarian, when he ceases to disavow the Divinity of Christ. Thus, a member of the Church of England ceases to be one, when he does *not* acquiesce in the articles of faith propounded by that Church. The Church of England claims a liberty for her communicants to believe in her faith and doctrines; and denies it not to any differing communicant. This, I, as a well-meaning man, with a so-so head, and a good heart, submit as the very essence, or position of civil and religious liberty; and it is not the church herself, *but* the laws of the country, sanctioned and made by a vast majority, which have created such church to be the "National Church." In Scotland, the same church exists, but not as a national church. But does the Presbyterian com-

plain that he is ACCURSED, because he is not a communicant of such church? Upon any other ground then, than upon the plea of "civil and religious liberty," would the advocacy of Catholic Emancipation be more consistently conducted: for it is to re-introduce a system which has been rejected "at the Reformation," and expelled "at the Revolution," because of its enmity to "civil and religious liberty;" which enmity it embodies to this very day. Look at Spain, as a proof.

I think, therefore—that when the delusion of the principle, and the singular anomaly shall become apparent,—of bringing again into existence, upon the ground of civil and religious liberty, their own inherent and interminable enemy;—that another step will be accomplished towards CATHOLIC CONSOLIDATION. No other Church but that of Rome *accurses* her neighbour.

Notwithstanding my so-so head; I have really looked into Mr. Butler's book of the Roman Catholic Church, which has convinced me more than ever, that I am right in proclaiming myself to be "a true Protestant Prince;" and I leave him full liberty to remain a "good Roman." I could not, however, but smile at the mode which Mr. Butler takes to substantiate his arguments; referring not a little to a former book of *his own writing*—to the works of Dr. Lingard and Mr. Sharon, or Aaron Turner, (I forget which), both which gentlemen he calls his mutual friends; and to (I presume) a relation of his own, one Mr. Alban Butler, whom he prodigiously praises. Most of his other authorities are Romans—all Romans. I should have thought, that the right way to convince, would have been—to have detected the errors and falsehoods of Protestant writers,

and not prop up his own church out of her own bricks and mortar. The Rev. George Townsend in his "Accusations of History," has done something towards a reply to Mr. Butler, which, as far as it goes, is good, and at all times fair and candid; but of much too timid and polite a temper.

I have referred to Mr. Butler's "Book of the Roman Catholic Church" because of one chapter in it, which helps to carry on my plan of CATHOLIC CONSOLIDATION, or "future merging into Protestantism." In this (which is the 10th Letter), Mr. Butler gives an account of the *Transalpine* and *Cisalpine* doctrines, respecting the power of the Pope; stating, that *formerly* the *Transalpines* admitted his right to dethrone kings by temporal power, in order to carry into effect spiritual objects; yet that such power was denied by the *Cisalpines*; but that now, *no* difference exists between the two opposing parties. Mr. Butler does not, however, give any authority for this assertion, or produce any canon or council to corroborate his statement, but proceeds thus:—

"But though, on this important point, both parties are at last agreed, they still differ on others.

"In spiritual concerns, the *Transalpine* opinions ascribe to the Pope a superiority and controlling power over the whole church, should she chance to *oppose* his decrees; and consequently, over a general council, her representative; and the same superiority and controlling power over the canons of the universal church. They describe the Pope as the fountain of all ecclesiastical order, jurisdiction, and dignity. They assign to him the power of judging *all persons* in spiritual con-



cerns ; of calling *all* spiritual causes to his cognizance ; of constituting, suspending, and deposing Bishops ; of conferring all ecclesiastical dignities and benefices, in or out of dominions, by *paramount* authority ; of exempting individuals and communities from the jurisdiction of their prelates ; of evoking to himself, or to judges appointed by him, any cause actually pending in an ecclesiastical court ; and of receiving immediate appeals from all sentences of ecclesiastical courts, though they be inferior courts, from which there is a regular appeal to an intermediate superior court. They further ascribe to the Pope, the extraordinary prerogative of personal infallibility, when he undertakes to issue a solemn decision on any point of faith.

“ The *Cisalpinæ* affirm, that in spirituals the Pope is subject, in doctrine and discipline, to the church, and to a general council representing her ; that he is subject to the canons of the church, and cannot, except in extreme case, dispense with them ; that even in such cases dispensation is subject to the judgment of the church ; that the *Bishops* derive their jurisdiction from God himself, immediately, and not derivatively through the Pope ; that he has *no right* to confer Bishopricks, or other spiritual benefices of any kind, the patronage of which by common right, prescription, concordat, or any other general rule of the church, is vested in another. They admit that an appeal lies to the Pope from the sentence of the Metropolitan ; but assert, that no appeal lies to the Pope, and that he can evoke no cause to himself during the intermediate process. They affirm, that a general council may *without*, and even *against* the Pope's consent, reform the Church. They

*deny* his personal infallibility, and hold, that *he may be deposed* by the church or a general council for heresy or schism; and they admit, that in an extreme case, where there is a great division of opinion, an appeal lies from the Pope to a future general council."

It does not appear to me, of what "the Church" consists. It is not the Pope; it is not a general council, because both are spoken of as distinct from the Church; and yet to the Church Mr. Butler attributes power; unless, therefore, it is the abstract brick and mortar and timber and paint of St. Peter's, I cannot define the Church of Rome.

But the question is—Are the priesthood of Ireland Transalpine or Cisalpine? I suspect them strongly to be of the former. If so, there is ample latitude for most important changes as regard their connection with, and obedience to the Roman Pontiff. They may, on becoming Cisalpine, elect their own bishops in their own chapters, without leave of the Pope; and, possibly, they may present the elected to their own Sovereign for his approbation. Certainly, however, the spread of the Cisalpine doctrines is calculated to create so complete a schism in the Roman Church, and so completely to shear the Pope of his honours, his powers, his interference, and his infallibility; that he may come soon to be a mere *ecce signum*. I must confess myself not aware that there were two such complete sets of Romans—the one quite Papistical, and the other all but Protestant, as far as papal allegiance is concerned.

I think, therefore, the schism which Mr. Butler has disclosed to public view, requires only to be widened a little and a little by degrees; and that from such

division will spring another seed of CATHOLIC CONSOLIDATION.

There is but one other point to which I will allude, or my countrymen will say that "York grows tedious." In times of public commotion, nations are seen to run from one extreme to the other. Look at France now, and as in the hour of revolution. She once banished her priests, shut up their places of divine worship, and substituted the Goddess of Reason in their place. Now she is approaching to a priest-ridden condition—Spain is entirely so; and what is there which tends to a suspicion of the Cabinet of France? The good understanding between the priests of the two countries! And how is this effected? I cannot but think, that, as in the Court of Rome, the Pope is a sovereign not only in spiritual matters as regards other countries, but is himself a temporal prince; and since spiritual matters would bring to his *temporal* court, ambassadors from all countries but our own; the Pope becomes thereby master of all the intrigues of Europe, and negatively gives an impulse to the councils of Roman Catholic countries. And yet it is to this same influence, which the British politician ridicules or opposes, under the term of *apostolical*; that the object is, to give resuscitated power at home.

Possibly this last consideration, duly weighed, may also lead to an objection to Catholic Emancipation; and every objection which gains time, and admits of the growth of an increased prosperity in the temporal affairs of Ireland, tends to the establishment of my principle of CATHOLIC CONSOLIDATION—OR MERGING INTO PROTESTANTISM.



I now propose, as regards Ireland, three golden rules—

ENRICH HER!

GIVE HER THE BIBLE!

LAUGH AT HER DEMAGOGUES!

With these rules I conclude this legacy of my opinions—my firm belief being, that no legislative measure can effect Emancipation, which requires to be accompanied with securities and exclusions—it is but to confer power on a party not yet free from cause of suspicion. If it be of no consequence, abstractedly,—whether a people be Heathens, Idolators, Turks, Jews, or Christians, provided they are rich and powerful, and great among the nations of the earth; then—grant Emancipation. But if our forefathers have shed their blood, and, from a small band of determined men, have, by their brave example, made us a nation of Protestants; and if the present generation is bound to the country *as* Protestant; then the characteristics must be perpetuated, and those principles avoided, which, to become Protestants, our ancestors rejected upon trial and examination—and I think, too---that to find a way for the renovation of the Roman religion, is to revert back to the era of the Heathen mythology, between whose household Gods, and earthly-made Saints, there appears not a very great shade of difference.

I had thought to have concluded this branch of my letter; but there yet remains one brief remark, which I beg to make, and in which I trust to escape the imputation of improper motives.

Many Protestant Noblemen and Gentlemen, resident in England, treat their most extensive Irish possessions

more upon a Colonial policy, than consider them situated in a country which, since the Union, may be admitted to be as much England as any one of the home counties.—Such persons, through the representations of their agents, are led to think, that Catholic Emancipation *only* is wanting to secure the peace of Ireland; that this granted, the population will settle down into habits of steady industry; and that land will increase in value, and rents be more regularly remitted. Acted upon by such reports, many who would reject the measure as one not at all necessary in England, or which, if confined to England, would be perfectly harmless and unimportant, look upon it, being an Irish measure, as one really connected with the best interests of the “fair green Isle.”

I warn such reasoners upon such grounds, of what I cannot but fear will prove erroneous; and am of opinion, that danger may arise from advantages held out as certainly to accrue from some specific measure, but which may prove fallacious altogether. The troubles of Ireland arise from the hatreds and feuds of clanship.

I have stated, that from the year 1790, Ireland has been increasing in wealth, in population, in agriculture and manufactures; and yet in all this time, vain have proved the attempts to subvert “Protestant Ascendancy.”

The intellectual and political value of Catholic Emancipation is, I fear, of too refined a nature for a calculator of the price of butter, pigs, and potatoes.

I expect that my letter will occasion differences, and be displeasing to those who consider every thing from HONEST YORK, must be the antipode of Romanism.



Men who, having well considered the principles in which they have been brought up, and connecting them with the Constitution, must be opposed to, and have enemies among those, who would seek to destroy such Constitution.

Could I resolve to pass into the grave as one convinced of error; or who, had he lived, might have found some convenient pivot on which to turn round upon his former sentiments; I had not cared to perpetuate the spirit of YORK. May, then, those who thought with me in my life-time, remember this my last memorial! and may it bind them more firmly than ever, and as one family, in the defence and preservation of the principles we mutually professed! These may possibly tend to induce many who differed from me (from the effect, perhaps, of prejudices stronger than those attributed to myself) to examine further the reasons of such dissent. Perhaps I may impart strength to the weak, and decision to the wavering. To those who remain *conscientiously* my opponents, I deny not the character of good and honourable men; nor in my life-time, did I withhold from such my personal esteem.

There yet remains one subject of some personal importance to myself, but of far less estimation than the vital question into which I have so fully entered.

My enemies, when I am no more, may fasten upon my errors as a man subject to human infirmities; let them, however, do justice to me as a Prince.

My revered King and Father relinquished the hereditary revenues of the Crown, which are now applied to the general service of the state; and by the constitutional and annual grant of the civil list, the King

and Princes of the empire are dependents upon the public bounty. I dispute not or object to this arrangement. But there are advantages derived from the landed revenues of the nobility, which enable them to meet difficulties, and make provision for honourable or just engagements, into which folly or fashion, or inexperience, or imprudence may occasionally betray the wisest and the boldest. The Princes of England, in point of temporal wealth, are placed much below numerous branches of the nobility; and of more commoners.

Should, then, the question come before the country,—whether imprudent, but HONEST YORK is to rest discredited in his grave—I trust the question will be considered by the country, not as a British one merely, but as one of international policy.—The eyes of Europe will watch the decision.

YORK dies at his post! Forty-seven years a soldier, and thirty as Commander-in-Chief, in the service of his King and Country!

Ask the army, over which I presided, *How* I did my duty? Enquire of the generals, who have won for their country such unfading and perpetual laurels, the quality of the troops placed under them by my anxious care? Ask the soldier, whether each was not to me as a son? Ask your enemies, the estimation in which the British army is now held?

You may possibly learn some good account of one, now on a lingering bed of certain death; and who, expecting soon to resign his soul to the King of Kings, bequeaths the care of his honour to the kind and serious consideration of the country—not to be dealt with,

according to the merits or demerits of YORK—but to be protected by the powerful shield of England.

Adieu, my beloved Countrymen! Honoured King, most beloved brother, farewell! Princes of our Royal House, we shall meet (I trust) in happy immortality. Protestants! be firm, united, true, and conciliating without the abandonment of principle! And may the dews of God's beneficent Providence fall kindly upon my country, of England, *Ireland*, and Scotland!

FREDERICK.





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